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ABSTRACT

The patrol performance of forty-one female police officers was compared to that of forty-one male police officers in New York City in 1975/1976; the males and females were matched by length of time on force, patrol experience, and type of precinct. Direct observation by police and civilian personnel was the principal research method. The findings add to the growing literature justifying assignment of women to patrol. In general, male and female officers performed similarly: they used the same techniques to gain and keep control and were equally unlikely to use force or to display a weapon. However, small differences in performance were observed. Female officers were judged by civilians to be more competent, pleasant, and respectful than their male counterparts, but were observed to be slightly less likely to engage in control-seeking behavior, and less apt to assert themselves in patrol decision making. Compared to male officers, females were less often named as arresting officers, less likely to participate in strenuous physical activity, and took more sick time. Some of the performance disparities appeared rooted in morale and deployment problems resulting from departmental layoffs, social conventions, and role expectations. Situationally and socially engendered differences between the performance of male and female officers might be remedied by different deployment and training policies. The study, intended primarily for police administrators, concludes with suggestions for the improvement of the patrol performance of male officers as well as female police officers. (Author/JT)

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Women on Patrol:

A Pilot Study of Police Performance in New York City

by

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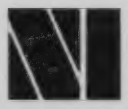

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ABSTRACT

The patrol performance of 41 female police officers was compared to that of 41 male police officers in New York City in 1975/1976; the males and females were matched by length of time on force, patrol experience, and type of precinct. Direct observation by police and civilian personnel was the principal research method.

The findings add to the growing literature justifying assignment of women to patrol. In general, male and female officers performed similarly: they used the same techniques to gain and keep control and were equally unlikely to use force or to display a weapon. However, small differences in performance were observed. Female officers were judged by civilians to be more competent, pleasant and respectful than their male counterparts, but were observed to be slightly less likely to engage in control-seeking behavior, and less apt to assert themselves in patrol decision-making. Compared to male officers, females were less often named as arresting officers, less likely to participate in strenuous physical activity, and took more sick time.

Some of the performance disparities appeared rooted in morale and deployment problems resulting from departmental layoffs, social conventions, and role expectations. Situationally and socially engendered differences between the performance of male and female officers might be remedied by different deployment and training policies. The study, intended primarily for police administrators, concludes with suggestions for the improvement of the patrol performance of male officers as well as female police officers.

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A report such as this one, and the research underlying it, is the work of many hands. It is one of those fortunate collaborations in which diversity of knowledge and experience enhances the final product. There are a number of individuals whose roles were crucial and cannot go unacknowledged.

We are indebted to the police officers who were subjects of the study and to their precinct supervisors whose cooperation was essential to the research reported here. Several members of Police Department headquarters staff gave invaluable assistance, especially Deputy Inspector Michael McNulty, who conceived and helped supervise the project. Others who assisted directly include Captain John Watters, Lieutenant Lucy Acerra, Lieutenant Jim Whaley, Sergeant John Fricano and Elaine Mills. Special thanks go to P. O. Arthur Ilardi for his assistance in computer analysis.

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The New York City Police Department and the Vera Institute of Justice have enjoyed a close working rela-

tionship for fifteen years. This report represents just one of the points at which the two agencies have pooled epxerience to explore particular aspects of the criminal justice system. We are grateful to those from both our agencies whose past collaborations made this one so pleasant and so productive.

Michael J. Codd
Commissioner
New York City Police Department

Herbert Sturz
Director
Vera Institute of Justice

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In recent years the assignment of female police officers to patrol duty has been the subject of considerable debate among law enforcement practitioners. This is a report of a field study of the performance, over a seven-month period in 1975 - 76, of two samples of New York City police officers in radio motor patrol assignments (41 males matched with 41 females). The performance of the women officers is compared with that of the men who had similar prior experience and were assigned to the same or similar precincts. The samples permitted statistically sound observations about differences between the groups. The results add to a growing body of evidence justifying assignment of women to patrol, but they reveal consistent -- though small -- differences between the performance of the women and the men in some areas. The report is intended primarily for police administrators and others who shape police policy and are responsible for training and assignment of patrol forces. Of course, the data are specific to the place: In New York City, officers on radio motor patrol work in pairs, while in many other jurisdictions they work alone. The findings of the study may, however, be of value to other jurisdictions.

The research, built around direct observation of 3625 hours of patrol and 2400 police-civilian encounters, permitted analysis of the types of action required of patrol officers; the pattern of their activity (their "style" of patrol); their various methods of gaining control, and the success of those efforts; their initiative; their physical strength and stamina; and the reactions of the public to their work.

Surprisingly, the women's "style" of patrol was almost indistinguishable from the men's. Their choice of techniques to gain and keep control fell into the same pattern as the men's, and they were neither more nor less likely than the men to use force (even rough physical contact), to display a weapon, or to rely on a direct order.

Although the sex of the officer made no observable difference in civilians' emotional states (e.g., calm, agitated), civilians rated the female officers

more competent, pleasant and respectful than their male counterparts. Civilians encountered by patrol teams that included one of the female officers indicated higher regard for the NYPD, as an entity, than did civilians who encountered teams that included one of the male officers.

The female officers were, however, slightly less active and more likely to hang back from physically strenuous activity; they were more frequently away from patrol on sick leave, less apt to assert themselves in patrol decision-making and less often credited with arrests than their male counterparts. Also, they participated in control-seeking behavior less often and were slightly less successful at achieving the immediate objectives of their attempts to gain and keep control of civilians.

Some of these disparities disappeared when the women were assigned to patrol with female partners or were assigned to a precinct in which supervisors were particularly receptive to their presence. This finding suggests that some of the performance differences were socially engendered.

The differences in patrol performance appear rooted to some extent in the differential deployment of male and female officers. The women were often assigned, during the seven-month period of observations, to traditionally female duties such as standing guard over female prisoners at police facilities, a job viewed by some of them, particularly the younger officers, as "dead-end" and which gave them significantly less patrol experience. Not only were the women less often assigned to patrol duty but, when on patrol, they were less often assigned to ride with the same patrol partner; they therefore had less opportunity to gain knowledge of their precincts and of the ground rules for participating with a partner in patrol functions.

Finally, the women's morale had recently suffered -- perhaps more than the male officers' morale -- because female officers were particularly hard hit by lay-offs in 1975 resulting from the City's fiscal crisis.

Despite the disparity of deployment and consequent disparity of experience, there was no evidence of dif-

ference between male and female officers' behavior in the few incidents where civilians were agitated or where there were other indications of danger. Upon examination, the data reveal that differences between the men and women in frequency of control-seeking and initiating action were accounted for by an apparent reluctance of the women -- in cases which did not present evident danger to the patrol team -- to join patrol partners in activity. This relative lack of assertiveness -- a tendency to yield to the partner when the stakes were not high -- disappeared when female subject officers were assigned to ride with female partners.

Recommendations flowing from the research therefore include: training to sensitize men in supervisory positions and on the patrol force to the needs and capabilities of patrolwomen; pairing women who are newly-assigned to patrol with other, more experienced female officers who can serve as role models, at least for an initial period; and assertiveness training for women assigned to patrol, similar to efforts to improve the performance of women in executive ranks of government agencies. Another recommendation flows from the "control-seeking" model itself, which might be used as a tool for regular analysis and monitoring of the elusive patrol function and for designing training programs that encourage officers to develop styles of patrol best suited to their individual strengths and weaknesses.

Source: Alfred J. Young Collection, N.Y.C.

Source: Douglas Mallin, N.Y.C.P.D.

Policewomen in traditional matron duty roles

I. INTRODUCTION

Background and Objectives

The core of policing is patrol. In modern police forces, it is radio motor patrol.[1] Although many jurisdictions have long employed women as uniformed police officers, it is only during the last several years that police departments across the country have assigned substantial numbers of women to patrol duty. The impetus toward placing female officers on patrol has accelerated since March 1972, when amendments to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act extended its prohibition of discrimination in employment to state and local governments as well as to private employers. New York City was no exception to the nationwide trend: between the spring of 1972, when the New York Police Department (NYPD) first assigned female officers to patrol, and the end of 1973, the NYPD hired and trained approximately 350 women, over half of whom were placed on patrol. The Department also intended to appoint an additional complement of 150 to 250 female patrol officers, a plan that was soon destroyed by the City's deepening financial crisis and freeze on new hiring.

From the beginning, however, the assignment of female officers to patrol has been accompanied by controversy regarding their competence in that role. Doubts have centered on two issues: how would women react in situations of potential or actual violence, and how would they respond when physical strength and endurance were called for. Specifically, critics argued that when faced with danger female officers would tend to panic, thereby endangering their partners, that they would be more likely to use a gun when threatened, and that they would lack the stamina and strength necessary to chase a suspect for several blocks or to carry an injured person to an ambulance. Advocates of assignment of women to

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[1] In this report "patrol" is radio motor patrol, unless otherwise stated.

patrol rejected the doubters' arguments and maintained that greater skill in interpersonal relations would make female officers better able than males to handle irate citizens and less apt to incur attack upon themselves and their partners.[2] The controversy remained unresolved as the number of policewomen assigned to radio motor patrol increased.

In January 1974, incoming New York City Police Commissioner Michael J. Codd asked the Department's Personnel Bureau to assess the patrol performance of the City's policewomen, and the Personnel Bureau approached the Vera Institute of Justice for assistance in designing an evaluation. The agencies subsequently agreed to conduct a joint study, in order to combine Vera's research capacity with the practical experience of Police Department personnel. This monograph reports the findings of that study.

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[2]Published articles and reports presenting one or both sides of the controversy include: C. Milton, Women in Policing, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1972; "Female Fuzz," Newsweek, October 23, 1972; L. Sherman, "A Psychological View of Women in Policing," Journal of Police Science and Administration, 1973, 1, pp. 383-394; "Arresting Preconceptions," Time, May 27, 1974; D. Carmody, "Police Divided Over Assignment of Women to Street Patrol Here," New York Times, July 15, 1974; T. Morgan, "Women Make Good Cops," New York Times Magazine, November 3, 1974; J. Howard, "Female Police Officers Measure Up in Stress Situations," Staten Island Sunday Advance, December 1, 1974; "Survey Reveals Women Perform Exceptionally Well on Patrol Duty," Crime Control Digest, March 17, 1975; S. Edmiston, "Policewomen: How Well Are They Doing a Man's Job?" Ladies Home Journal, April 1975; A. Bouza, "Women in Policing," F.B.I. Law Enforcement Bulletin, September 1975; "Women Cadets Can't Subdue Suspects, Police Trainer Says," Crime Control Digest, October 20, 1975; M. Kempton, "All We Want for Christmas is Our Jobs Back," Ms., December 1975; K. Wenner, "Whatever Happened to Lady Cops?" The Soho Weekly News, April 15, 1976; "Women in Blue are Here to Stay," Criminal Justice Digest, October 1976; M. Kiernan and J. Cusick, "Women on Patrol: the Nation's Capital Gives Them High Marks," Police Magazine, Summer 1977.

Purpose and Focus of the Study

The study had two principal aims. First, it sought to evaluate and compare the performance of male and female patrol officers from objective descriptions of officer and civilian behavior rather than from opinions of patrol officers, supervisors, and civilians. Second, the study sought to develop policy guidelines which the New York City Police Department might adopt for the more effective use of women on patrol; there was also the possibility that other law enforcement agencies would find the research and guidelines of some value.

Patrol duty is frequently monotonous, consisting largely of making service calls and taking reports. Violence is rare. But patrol duty also and inevitably entails the unexpected and therefore requires a variety of abilities on the part of patrol officers. This study focused on five key elements of patrol duty in which the presence of women raised most questions:

1. "Style of patrol." Do men and women attach similar priorities to different aspects of patrol, and do civilians perceive officers in the same way?

2. Gaining and keeping control. Do men and women use the same techniques for gaining and keeping control of patrol situations, and are they equally successful? Do men and women show similar degrees of self-control?

3. Activity level. Does the NYPD deploy women in the same way as men? Are female police officers as likely as males to initiate encounters with civilians, and do officers of both sexes make arrests and issue summonses with equal frequency?

4. Special skills. Are such skills as driving and use of weapons equally developed among male and female officers?

5. Physical capacities. Are women as able as men to stand up under the physical demands that patrol can impose?

One point needs to be made at the outset. This study permitted comparison of the performance of male and female officers, but the lack of sufficiently detailed and widely accepted standards precluded measuring officers' actions against pre-established norms of good policing. Indeed, in a field so completely dominated by men as police patrol, there is substantial danger that prevailing practices will be accepted, without qualification, as the standard against which to measure performance of new, female entrants. This report attempts to identify and avoid that danger when divergent interpretations might be placed on sex-related differences in performance.

The Layoffs of 1975: Impact on NYPD Policy and Implications for the Study

The initial research plan was to examine the performance of large cohorts of recently appointed male and female officers. Project staff obtained preliminary data on 165 pairs of officers appointed to the Department during 1973, and identified another 90 pairs appointed in 1974. Third and fourth cohorts of officers were also slated to be hired and studied.

Two events occasioned by New York City's growing fiscal crisis altered these plans. First, a hiring freeze imposed in December 1974 precluded appointment of additional officers. Second, layoffs of police officers on active duty began in June 1975. Because, as mandated by state civil service law, layoffs followed a policy of reverse seniority ("last hired, first fired"), they resulted in the loss of 88 percent of the women appointed during the previous two years.

The Department-wide program of layoffs in turn required the transfer of many of the policewomen who remained on the force. Due to the shortage of

female officers to search and guard female prisoners,[3] the Department designated one precinct in each borough for "matron duty" and reassigned women from the other precincts to provide coverage. In addition, a few women who had been selected as subject officers for this study were transferred to precincts where it was less likely that they would be reassigned from patrol to matron duty. In order further to reduce the possibility that female subject officers would not be available for radio motor patrol assignments, the Department asked for volunteers willing to do matron duty on a regular basis. The more than twenty women who volunteered helped substantially to ensure that the women whose patrol performance was to be studied would be more often kept in the patrol cars. Nonetheless, necessity left female subject officers vulnerable to sudden reassignment to matron duty.

Thus, this study followed immediately on a period of great instability for all police officers and for policewomen in particular. Large-scale layoffs sharply reduced the population of women available for study. Layoffs and transfers dampened officer morale; performance may have deteriorated as a consequence.

The sample of 41 women and 41 men, although smaller than originally intended, was sufficently large to permit statistically sound inferences about the performance of the male and female subject officer groups; because each officer could be observed for several tours of duty, the layoffs entailed no reduction in the number of incidents on which data could be collected. Also, preliminary data collected before the layoffs began indicate that the women in this sample were roughly similar (in terms of age, training, and expectations on entering policing) to the larger

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[3]During the study period, the New York City Administrative Code required that female prisoners detained in police facilities be guarded by female police officers. The legislative and administrative steps necessary to amend this provision, so that civilians may be assigned to this work, are now in progress.

group of women laid off in 1975 and slated to be rehired.[4] The patrol performance of female subject officers may therefore be regarded as broadly indicative of the patrol performance of women in the NYPD prior to the layoffs. How closely their performance resembles that of women entering positions as patrol officers in other jurisdictions -- women who may be younger than the subject officers and who may have actively sought patrol assignments -- is uncertain, however, and caution is indicated in generalizing from the findings presented here.[5]

Previous Research

The three most widely cited studies of the performance of policewomen on patrol were conducted in Washington, D.C., St. Louis County, Missouri, and New

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[4]The sample of women officers included a subgroup of 13 who, because they were hired before 1970, had not had extensive patrol training. They were older and less likely to belong to minority groups than the 28 more recently appointed women. Performance data on the two groups were compared to determine if they could be combined. There were no performance differences, suggesting that (at least for this sample) characteristics such as age and ethnicity are not related to performance and therefore do not appear to limit applicability of the study's findings to existing and former New York City policewomen.

[5]Another factor making it difficult to generalize from this study's results is that the New York City Police Department uses two-officer patrol cars almost exclusively, while in some jurisdictions one-officer cars predominate. This limitation may be substantial, as the study indicated that the nature of relationships between partners may be a major factor in the patrol performance of any officer.

York City.[6] On the whole, these studies did not find important differences in the performance of male and female patrol officers.

The Washington study evaluated 86 patrolwomen, matched with 86 men by the length of time they had served on the District of Columbia force and the crime rate of the district in which they were stationed. Focusing on the attitudes of male police officers and community members toward policewomen, the study found that while male officers and supervisors were generally unreceptive to the women, civilians were satisfied with both male and female officers. Two additional components of the Washington study, an analysis of traditional indicators and observation of patrol performance, showed several sex-related differences in patrol performance: the patrolwomen made fewer arrests than their male counterparts, initiated fewer traffic incidents, issued fewer moving traffic citations, and were less frequently charged with serious misconduct. There were ten observed incidents (six with women officers) involving physical force or use of a weapon against officers. Civilians who witnessed these ten incidents and other incidents involving verbal threats reported to interviewers that the male and the female officers were equally effective. Two factors limit the general applicability of the D.C. study's findings. First, women appointed to the Washington force at that time had cleared the departmental height requirement (5'7") and were substantially taller than the average adult female; many police departments, including the NYPD, no longer require that police officers meet height requirements. Second, the male and female patrol officers whose performance was compared in the Washington study were not matched with respect to the neighborhood in which they worked.

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[6]Peter B. Bloch, and Deborah Anderson, Policewomen on Patrol: Final Report (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1974); Lewis Sherman, "An Evaluation of Policewomen on Patrol in a Suburban Police Department," Journal of Police Science and Administration, 1975, Volume 3, Number 4, pp. 434-438; and Judith E. Greenwald and Harriet A. Connolly, Policewomen on Patrol: New York City (unpublished manuscript, 1974).

The St. Louis study, which examined 16 female officers operating in a suburban environment, found that the women performed patrol functions as ably as the men to whom they were compared, and that civilians responded as well to the women as to the men. Some differences between the sexes were noted: the women officers made fewer arrests and engaged in less "preventive" activity (stops of cars and pedestrians) but gave out more traffic citations than the men. The St. Louis study also found that the women needed more training in automobile driving and the use of firearms to reach parity with men.

In 1972 the Urban Institute conducted an evaluation of the first female officers on patrol in New York City. The study was based on a sample of 14 women matched with 14 men selected randomly from the same Neighborhood Police Teams as the women. However, males and females were not matched with respect to length of patrol experience or appointment date, and female officers were not assigned to a full range of patrol duties. The women and men made equal numbers of arrests, but the women received more official commendations and were considered better at defusing potentially explosive situations. The men took greater initiative in making traffic stops; the women provided more emotional support to civilians.

Connolly and Greenwald, the principal investigators for the Urban Institute study, subsequently subjected the data to further scrutiny.[7] Greenwald noted that while all officers in the Urban Institute sample had begun encounters with civilians in a businesslike style, the men had been more apt to become aggressive, and the women more likely to adopt a cordial manner. Civilians behaved in a friendlier fashion toward female officers than toward males.

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[7]Harriet Arnone Connolly, Policewomen as Patrol Officers: A Study in Role Adaptation (Ph.D. dissertation, The City University of New York, 1975); and Judith Ellen Greenwald, Aggression as a Component of Police-Citizen Transactions: Differences Between Male and Female Police Officers (Ph.D. dissertation, The City University of New York, 1976).

Connolly studied ways in which women in this group adapted to stress and theorized that stress arose from the conflicting "messages" that the women received from family members, supervisors, and co-workers about their roles and performance. Connolly speculated that the majority of the women chose other females as steady partners as a way of avoiding pressure from men to act "womanly."

In addition to these three studies, some relevant data were contained in a California evaluation of the performance of women as highway patrol officers, an occupation demanding some of the same skills as urban radio motor patrol. The research sample consisted of 27 female and 30 male graduates of the California Highway Patrol Academy. "Critical tasks" associated with the highway patrol function were identified, and the ability of men and women to perform these tasks was assessed by their superiors. As groups, both the male and the female officers performed acceptably and were well received by civilians. The women experienced more difficulty in making arrests of physically combative persons, used more sick leave, and had a slightly higher attrition rate than did the men. The number of situations calling for great physical strength was insufficient to resolve the issue of how well the women met those demands. (Over the course of the year, only about half the officers encountered even one person who physically resisted arrest.)[8]

The study reported in the following pages builds

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[8]Women Traffic Officer Project Final Report (Sacramento: Department of California Highway Patrol, 1976).

on and supplements prior studies.[9] But all of the efforts, this one included, examine officer performance in particular settings at particular times; none, therefore, can be definitive. The present study confirms some of the findings of other investigations, and conflicts with others. Beyond the similarities and differences reported later in these pages, a relatively uncharted dimension of police performance -- "control seeking" -- was explored and is presented in some detail.

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[9]The experiences of policewomen in patrol assignments can also be viewed as part of the broader picture of women moving into occupations and roles that have traditionally been male. O'Farrell studied women entering industrial craft jobs. She found that, compared with men, women suffered from lack of adequate training and preparation and that the informal male social structure on the job was hostile to rather than supportive of their presence. O'Farrell also noted an absence in these fields of older females who might serve as role models, facilitating integration. (Brigid O'Farrell, "Affirmative Action for Women in Craft Jobs: Change in the Small Industrial Work Group," Paper presented to the American Sociological Association, August 25, 1975.) Studying female blue-collar workers active in traditional trade unions, Wertheimer and Nelson, too, found that women encountered distrust and resistance from the male workers. (Barbara M. Wertheimer and Anne H. Nelson, Trade Union Women: A Study of Their Participation in New York City Locals (New York: Praeger, 1975). Warren discovered that blue-collar workers were less receptive to having women in their midst than were white-collar workers. (Rachelle Barcus Warren, "The Work Role and Problem Coping: Sex Differentials in the Use of Helping Systems in Urban Communities," Paper presented to the American Sociological Association, August 25, 1975.)

II. METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the research design underpinning the study. The first section explains "control-seeking," a conceptual model used for recording and analyzing the behavior of police officers. The second section describes data collection and analysis and the various research techniques employed to check and complement each other. The final section discusses the selection of male and female subject officers and the issues attendant upon choosing the samples.

The Control-seeking Model of Police Behavior on Patrol

The original plan of the study was to focus on performance in violent or potentially violent patrol situations. An alternate approach was adopted, for three reasons. First, data from previous evaluations and field tests for this study showed that violent incidents occur so infrequently[1] that the amount of time required to amass a sufficient number of observations of violent incidents would have been impractical, and much too costly. Second, identification of a situation as potentially violent may depend on highly subjective impressions of tension, civilian provocation, and officer aggression. Third, behavior in violent incidents is an unsatisfactory measure of officers' patrol performance, since the very occurence of such incidents may depend in part on officers' prior actions.

This study relied on an approach which made it possible to look at a greater number of incidents involving potential conflict: it traced the incidence and progression of "control-seeking" by officers in officer-civilian encounters.[2] Control-seeking behavior may be defined as the attempt to influence

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[1]For example, the Washington, D.C.,study cited above noted only 25 occasions when civilians made verbal threats, and only five instances when they used physical force, among the 322 observed patrol incidents involving female officers.

[2]In this report, the terms "encounter" and "incident" are used interchangeably.

another person or persons to take a particular action.[3] Control-seeking behavior can be verbal or physical, gentle or violent, subtle or obvious; in this study, control-seeking behaviors (or "control attempts") include a set of specific verbal and physical acts ranging from making requests and threats to applying physical restraints and firing a gun.

Control-seeking behavior takes place often, but not always, in response to civilians' actions. It may inspire a wide variety of civilian reactions, including verbal or physical resistance. Whether or not an incident escalates to open conflict or violence, it can be described objectively as a sequence of officer control attempts and civilian responses. Furthermore, each control attempt has its discrete objective. Thus, it is possible to evaluate the success of different techniques of control-seeking when used by officers of either sex. And because control-seeking behavior and its outcome can be observed and described with relative precision, those officer actions that seem to provoke violence can be identified.

The control-seeking model, when refined and tested, should make it possible not only to describe and compare the elements of patrol performance of individual officers or groups of officers, but also to assess techniques and styles of patrol. Tracing the control-seeking procees involves noting the instigating circumstances, identifying types of control attempts, recording their sequence, and rating their success. The present research, therefore, lays the groundwork for an inventory of police strategies of control and for a means of assessing their relative effectiveness in different types of incidents.

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[3]Others have emphasized "controlling behavior" as a crucial dimension of police performance. Daniel Cruse and Jesse Rubin, "Police Behavior (part I)," The Journal of Psychiatry and Law, Summer 1973, 167-222, and William Brown, "Local Policing: A Three-Dimensional Task Analysis," Journal of Criminal Justice, 1975, 3, 1-16.

Source: Robert Stanulis, N.Y.C.P.D.

Project observers follow patrol action

Source: Robert Stanulis, N.Y.C.P.D.

Policewoman takes complainant's report

A Multi-method Approach to Data Collection

The research design incorporated a number of different techniques -- observation, interviewing, analysis of traditional performance data, a descriptive study, and a questionnaire -- intended to complement and check one another.

Direct observation of officers was the chief research method. Observation provided first-hand descriptions and assessments of officer behavior, including but not limited to control attempts; but such data are vulnerable to observer biases. Interviews with civilians who had been in encounters with the officers provided a balancing perspective. Routinely recorded Police Department statistics were used to supplement data generated by other methods. In order that the quantitative findings be placed in context, a limited number of subject officers were informally interviewed and observed in their precinct environment. Finally, a self-report questionnaire distributed to subject officers was intended to identify attitudinal factors which might underlie differences in performance.

1. Direct Observation of Patrol

a. Observation Procedures. Prospective observers -- police and civilian -- were interviewed by NYPD and Vera staff and rejected if they displayed strong negative or positive biases about women on patrol. The selected observers were seven police officers (four men and three women) and seven civilians (three men and four women). Replacements were made as needed throughout the study to maintain this distribution, except for one policewoman observer who returned to regular assignment halfway through the study and for whom no replacement was available.

Each subject officer was observed, over the seven-month study period, for an average of 5.5 eight-hour tours of radio motor patrol. Observers worked in pairs, one Police Department member and one civilian, usually opposite in sex. Three advantages of this pairing outweighed the doubled cost of observation and occasional crowding when observers shared the back seat of the

patrol car with suspects and others. First, the presence of two observers who brought different experiences and backgrounds to the same incidents helped to check and correct for possible biases. Second, police observers were responsible for the safety of both observers, thereby freeing subject officers and their patrol partners from this concern. Third, police observers had general authorization to follow subject officers into dangerous situations and thus to observe situations from start to finish.

Formal observer training included lectures and discussions on observation techniques and pitfalls, practice with training films, and actual patrol observations. Observers used structured observation forms with numerical codes to describe types of incidents and types of actions, whether control-seeking or not, performed by officers and civilians on the scene. A form was completed for each patrol incident, defined as a police-civilian encounter more demanding than a request for directions. (For example, an officer's order that a civilian move his parked car would be counted as an incident.) In addition to noting all observed behavior on the incident form, observers completed a separate form for each control attempt and for each strenuous physical activity. A single patrol encounter could be associated with any number of control attempts or physical activities, or with none. An Appendix contains the observation instruments and materials.

Observers concerned themselves exclusively with patrol encounters; they recorded no information on periods of patrol when no encounters took place. To include as many incidents as possible, observations were scheduled for the relatively active 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. and 4 P.M. to midnight shifts and the schedule was drawn up so that the busy Friday and Saturday evening shifts were not omitted.

Observer teams were required to leave the patrol car and follow the officers into the action unless,

in the judgment of the police observer, their presence would entail extreme danger; in these cases (which were few in number), the civilian observer was instructed to remain in the patrol car. Safety procedures for observers also appear in the Appendix.

b. Quality of Observers' Data. The accuracy and consistency of observations were checked both during formal training and during the study period. Tests made use of training films[4] showing police-civilian interaction; differences in observers' coding of the filmed behavior were generally the result of failures to notice minor behavior, or failures to note questions and answers in precise sequence, rather than inconsistent identification of the behavior that was observed.

Testing was also conducted to ascertain the reliability of the observation instruments -- that is, the degree to which variability in recorded responses could be attributed to actual differences in observers' perceptions rather than to ambiguities in the instruments themselves. In a special set of tours, pairs of police officers or civilians replaced the usual police-civilian combination. An analysis of the forms completed for the 60 incidents observed in these test tours revealed considerable consistency in observer responses.[5]

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[4]Training films were part of the Pittsburgh Police Series, photographed by John Marshall (Documentary Education Resources, Somerville, Mass.).

[5]Data from these 60 special tours showed that on the multiple choice items of the main observation form the entries of the two observers (police/police or civilian/civilian) were in agreement at least 70% of the time. On the control-attempt forms, observers were in accord 86% of the time about whether or not the subject officer had achieved his control objective. Greater disparities occurred in the coding of exact behaviors; here there was agreement only half the time. But police observers agreed 85% of the time and civilians 81% when consistency was assessed by category of behavior, rather than by exact behavior (as, for instance, when "arguing" and "complaining" were combined in the category of "negative verbal expressions").

In general, civilian and police observers were in accord about the kinds of actions they had witnessed. A number of findings, however, suggest that police observers saw their subject officer colleagues in a more favorable light than did civilians: police observers were more likely to report that subject officers tried hard to locate places and people involved in incidents to which they had dispatched, to note that civilians on the scene had expressed satisfaction, and to find that efforts to achieve control had been successful.

The sex of the observer, whether civilian or police, was another factor affecting observations. Male observers gave female subject officers lower marks for their control attempts than did the female observers.

Differences in perspective emerged most clearly when the effects of observers' sex and status were combined: in rating the success of subject officers' control attempts, female police officers produced the data most favorable toward female subject officers, while the data from male civilian observers was the least favorable. Therefore, despite the effort to screen observers for impartiality and open-mindedness, some data reflect small-scale but systematic biases: men outnumbered women among the police observers, while women were in the majority among civilian observers, so that data drawn from reports by police observers show the female subject officers as less successful than in the data drawn from civilian observers' reports. On most performance measures, however, the observers' biases did not produce statistically significant differences. Data presented in the report are based on police observations when they do not differ significantly from the civilian observers' data, because police observers were able to follow even dangerous encounters through to their conclusion. When there is a significant difference between police and civilian data, the data from both sources are shown.

2. Interviewing

Interviews with civilians who encountered subject officers in patrol incidents permitted comparison of citizens' subjective responses to the male and to the female officers. A secondary purpose of interviewing was to discern possible differences in officer behavior in incidents when observers were present and in incidents when no observers were on the scene. Accordingly, the interviews covered only patrol incidents which had not been observed. These incidents were taken from the record available in the subject officers' personal memo books during a two-month period.[6] Trained interviewers contacted the involved civilians at their homes or work and, when possible, also interviewed the subject officer and his or her partner in the incident; data on 60 encounters, each involving a different subject officer, were obtained in this way.

While retrospective interviews proved useful for ascertaining civilians' attitudes toward male and female subject officers, they were less useful than direct observation for providing detailed information about officers' actions during patrol encounters. A comparison of interview and observation data about actions of subject officers surfaced no evidence that officers had behaved differently when they were observed.

3. Additional Research Techniques

Another source of data was the information routinely collected by the Police Department on the patrol performance of individual officers. During the seven-month study period, the staff collected data from NYPD files for each subject officer on: number of hours spent in each kind of police activity (radio motor patrol, foot patrol, clerical duties, etc.); number of arrests made and summonses issued;

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[6]Several interview items were adapted from the citizen interview forms used in the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment (Washington, D.C., Police Foundation, 1974).

number of assaults on the officer, accidents, and line-of-duty injuries; amount of sick time taken; number of official commendations and complaints; and supervisor's evaluation. Police Academy scores on academic and physical examinations and scores on firearms range tests were also assembled.

Project staff also sought to develop a picture of the working conditions of subject officers by examining supervisory style, morale, and informal relations among officers in the various precincts.[7] This descriptive study was based on informal site observation and on interviews with subject female officers and their supervisors, as well as informal reports by the personnel assigned to observe patrol behavior.

Selecting the Subject Officers

Subject officers for the study were selected in August 1975, after mass layoffs of recently appointed police officers precluded use of the 165 pairs of officers originally slated for examination. The sample consisted of 41 female patrol officers who had at least six months' experience in a patrol assignment and 41 male officers, roughly matched with the women with respect to date of appointment to the Department, length of time assigned to the precinct, and length of actual experience on radio

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[7] A questionnaire had been designed to assess subject officers' attitudes in areas related to performance, including job satisfaction, policing style preference, self-rated competence, ability to exercise self-control, tendency toward self-effacement, and level of fear on the job. The questionnaire was also intended to measure officers' knowledge of the communities in which they worked. The low rate of response to the questionnaire, particularly among female officers, rendered it useless to these purposes. There are indications, in the interviews and in the observation of subject officers in their working environment, that the poor response was largely attributable to low morale among female officers, who were suspicious of the uses to which their answers might be put.

motor patrol. In addition, each male subject officer worked either in the same precinct as his female counterpart or in a precinct similar in demographic and crime characteristics.[8] Matching was not achieved by assigning male subject officers to patrol as partners in the same car.[9]

Table 1 presents background data on the 82 officers. The two groups differed in that women were more likely to be minority group members, had less experience on foot patrol, and on the average were two years older than the men. Male officers were, of course, taller and heavier. But on such factors as I.Q., length of time in the Department, and prior experience on radio motor patrol, there were no significant differences between the sexes.

Two caveats about the comparability of the males and females in the sample: First, although the matching procedure insured that in many ways the patrol experience of male and female subject officers would be similar, there was no way of controlling for other, perhaps more important elements of that experience. One is that the precincts were dominated by men;[10] the proportion of female officers in the precincts to which subject officers were assigned ranged from two to six percent. Thus, women entering a new precinct were far less likely than men to find experienced officers of the same sex who could serve as role models and facilitate integration

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[8]Only one female subject officer was reassigned to patrol duty from a permanent special detail for purposes of this study. Data on transfers of male officers were not collected.

[9]From time to time, members of the male and female samples did ride together; but in these instances, only one of the subject officers was being observed for the study as a subject officer.

[10]On December 9, 1976, the NYPD announced appointment of the first woman to head a precinct. (New York Times, Dec. 11, 1976).

Table 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS AT TIME OF SELECTION

Characteristics	Sex of Subject Officer: Female — All Women (n=41)	Female — Appointed to NYPD Before 1970 (n=13)	Female — Appointed to NYPD After 1970 (n=28)	Male — All Men (n=41)	Male — Appointed to NYPD Before 1970 (n=11)	Male — Appointed to NYPD After 1970 (n=30)
Mean Age*	32	35[a]	31[a]	30	33[a]	28[a]
Mean I.Q.	102	111[a]	99[a]	99	103	98
Mean Height (in.)*	66	65	66	70	71	70
Mean Weight (lb.)*	145	151	143	184	191	181
Percentage Non-white*	56	8[a]	79[a]	39	27	43
Mean no. of Months in Department	58	131[a]	24[a]	49	110[a]	26[a]
Mean No. of Radio Motor Patrol Tours	121	154[a]	106[a]	112	103	115
Mean No. of Foot Tours*	45	22[a]	56[a]	80	83	79

Notes:

*Difference between sexes is statistically significant. Differences presented in this report are considered statistically significant at the .05 level. This means that such differences are likely to have arisen by chance only 5 percent of the time. Differences significant at the .10 level are termed "tendencies" or "trends."

[a]Difference between officers appointed before 1970 and officers appointed after 1970, within sex category, is statistically significant.

into the precinct. In addition, the male officers may have differed from the female officers in their eagerness to undertake patrol assignments. Whether or not the individual male subject officers wanted to be on patrol, they expected patrol assignments when they applied to the NYPD.[11] On the other hand, although it is not known whether the individual female subject officers wanted to be on patrol, it is known that when they applied for employment with the NYPD, women were not assigned to patrol duties.[12]

A second caveat concerns distinctions within the group of female officers. As Table 1 indicates, 13 "veteran" female subject officers had joined the NYPD before 1970, while the remaining 28 female officers, along with the male officers to whom they were matched, were appointed during 1973 or 1974 and retained through the 1975 layoffs because of seniority credited to those with prior service in city government or in the military. The subgroups might be expected to differ markedly, because the work of the "veteran" women was restricted, until 1972, to the traditionally female police functions (matron duty, clerical work, and occasional special plainclothes assignments). In addition, they had received physical training which antedated the "unisex" training policy instituted by the Department in 1973 and which therefore differed from that of all the men. Finally, veteran women were older than the more recent appointees, and were predominantly white. Despite these disparities, the data reveal no differences between the patrol performance of veteran women and that of their more recently appointed female colleagues.

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[11]As a group, however, the male subject officers had uncharacteristically limited prior patrol experience (most had held desk jobs or worked at such special assignments as highway or headquarters duty). This was due to the matching procedure which required date of appointment as well as length of actual patrol experience to be similar.

[12]Women appointed to the Department after 1970 did, however, receive instruction in patrol procedures before graduating from the Police Academy.

The methodology developed for this study provides a systematic approach to answering two basic questions associated with evaluating patrol performance: "What do officers do on the job?" and "How effectively do they do it?" While this investigation focused on comparisons of male and female patrol officers, the methodology could be extended and elaborated to shed light on questions such as: What are the effects of special training programs on officer behavior? In what ways does the behavior of experienced officers differ from that of rookies? What kinds of control attempts are most effective in specific kinds of situations? Is the frequency with which an officer attempts to exercise control related to his success in controlling?

III. FINDINGS

Part A: General Findings About Patrol and Women on Patrol

Male and female subject officers were on assignment to 11 precincts which, together, spanned New York City's ethnic and economic diversity. Four of the precincts were in areas of heavy drug use and violent crime and are designated by the NYPD as high activity precincts. Another precinct covered Times Square, an area of Manhattan characterized by street disorder and prostitution. Three precincts, in the Bronx and Brooklyn, included mixed areas of businesses and middle-class residences. The last three, in Queens and Staten Island, were in quiet residential areas with mostly private homes.

As Table 2 indicates, subject officers were observed for 3625 hours,[1] with approximately equal amounts of observation time devoted to male and female officers. Female officers' patrol tours were more frequently curtailed, because the women were called back to the station house to perform matron duty.

Table 2

PROJECT OBSERVATION OF MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS

Observation Measure	Sex of Subject Officer		
	Female (N=41)	Male (N=41)	Both Sexes
Total Hours Observed	1830	1795	3625
Mean Hours Observed per Subject Officer	45	44	44
Complete Tours Observed	219	218	437
Partial Tours Observed	17	9	26

[1]This figure excludes approximately 100 hours of observation used to estimate coding reliability.

Police observers recorded 2410 discrete patrol incidents during the observed hours of patrol; civilian observers recorded 2443 incidents. Thus, an average of .67 incidents was observed per hour at patrol, or an average of five or six incidents was observed per eight-hour tour of duty.

Not only were incidents infrequent during observed tours, but they rarely involved direct confrontation with criminal suspects. Table 3 classifies the observed incidents according to what observers actually saw, rather than according to the description from the initial radio dispatch.

Table 3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF OBSERVED INCIDENTS

Incident Type	Percentage
All Types	100 (N=2410)
Unfounded reports, or termination of need for officers prior to their appearance	42
Past Crimes	12
Arguments and Noise	11
Ambulance Cases and Accidents	9
Disorderly Persons and Criminal Mischief	3
Burglar Alarms	2
Possible Crimes	2
Persons with Weapon or Psychotic Person	2
Auto Checks, Stops, and Investigations	2
Parking Violations	2
Crime in Progress	1
Warrants and Summonses	1
Notifications of Deaths, Accidents, etc.	1
Other (Lost Child, Cat in Tree, etc.)	10

In forty-two percent of the observed patrol incidents the subject officer and partner responded to unfounded reports or to reports of problems that had run their course, had already been handled by other officers, or could not be located upon their arrival at the scene. (Such responses led to patrol "incidents"

and are recorded in Table 3 only when the attempt of subject officer and partner to find the problem led the police to encounter civilians in the area.) Twelve percent of the incidents involved the taking down of reports about past crimes from victims and witnesses. Arguments, complaints about noise, traffic accidents, and ambul nce cases accounted for an additional 20 percent of the police-civilian encounters. Only 13 percent of the incidents offered the likelihood of confrontation with someone engaging in or accused of committing a felony or misdemeanor ("crime or possible crime in progress," "person with weapon or psychotic person," "burglar alarm," "disorderly person," "criminal mischief," "auto stops," and serving "warrants and summonses").

Almost three-quarters (72%) of the incidents observed and recorded in this study arose in response to radio dispatches. The officers themselves initiated another 19 percent, usually after having noticed some condition on the street that appeared to call for action. Four percent of the encounters arose from civilians' direct requests for intervention, and five percent from direct assignment by a supervisor.

Civilians with whom the police were observed to interact were disproportionately male (59%) and disproportionately black or Hispanic (67%). Two-thirds were estimated to be between 19 and 44 years old. Sixty percent of the encounters were over within 15 minutes and 90 percent within half an hour.

The data suggest that on an average tour, the New York Police Department's patrol force is in active contact with civilians less than half the time. The following incidents, reconstructed from observation forms, are typical:

> A female subject officer and her male partner were dispatched to take a report about a past burglary. The victim was questioned in her apartment, and the report was taken by the subject officer whose partner checked the entrances to the premises. The victim remained calm throughout the 15-30 minutes the officers spent at the scene.

A female subject officer and her female partner were dispatched to assist an injured person. The victim and a relative awaited them. While the subject officer asked questions and explained what would happen, her partner called for an ambulance. The ambulance arrived within 15 minutes, and the officers left. The relative thanked them for their assistance.

A male subject officer and his male partner were dispatched to a call about an argument at a store. By the time they arrived, only the complainant remained on the scene; the other party to the dispute was gone. The officer asked what had happened and then left.

A male subject officer and his female partner decided to back up another car that had been dispatched to a drug sale on the street. They were the third and fourth officers on the scene; the subject officer searched the suspect, a youth, and one of the other officers made the arrest.

A female subject officer and her male partner were dispatched to an auto accident. Three civilians -- the drivers of the two vehicles and a bystander -- were present at the scene; all were calm. The subject officer asked how the accident had occurred and asked to see both drivers' licenses. She then told one driver to pull his car further over to the side of the street; he did so. No summonses were issued or arrests made.

A male subject officer and his male partner were dispatched to respond to a complaint of excessive noise. In the apartment were four men. The subject officer asked some questions, looked around the premises, and told the men to be quiet. They answered his questions and complied with his order.

But if patrol is a generally routine occupation, it is not predictably so. Ordinary service calls can result in heightened passions and tensions. Family disputes are frequently cited as tinderbox situations. Incidents commenced by routine dispatch can become inflamed with angry feelings: one was observed at the scene of a traffic accident, where an angry Hispanic crowd cast ethnic slurs at police officers because the ambulance they had called was slow in coming to the ghetto neighborhood. In such situations, the officer's style of patrol and in particular the success of his or her efforts to exercise control--along with the ability to exercise self-control--may be critical to the outcome.

In the discussion below, considerations of the style of patrol adopted by male and female subject officers is followed by an exploration of the techniques they used in seeking control of the civilians with whom they interacted. The analysis then proceeds to related issues: Were female subject officers as "active" as their male counterparts? Did they show equal mastery of patrol skills? Did they have the strength and stamina to stand up to the physical strains of the patrol duty?

"Style" of Patrol and Civilian Response

What an officer does on the job is related not only to the nature of the assignment and the civilians with whom he interacts but also to personal style. One officer may make small talk to put civilians at ease; another may be primarily concerned with getting the facts to complete a report. One officer may sympathize, another may moralize. Do male and female officers adopt different "styles" of policing?

This study addressed that question by examining the frequency with which subject officers were observed to engage in certain types of verbal or physical actions during incidents. Table 4 presents the results. The male officers were observed to perform more actions than their female counterparts. Observers recorded that men performed 8 actions on the average per incident and women 7; the difference is statistically

significant.[2] There were, however, almost no differences observed in the relative frequency with which specific types of action were performed. No activity pattern characteristic of male or female officers as a group--no particularly male or female patrol style--emerged from the data. There was not discernable difference in the actions taken by male and female officers at the scene of disputes, except that the female officer was more likely to speak with any female party to the dispute. Actions by officers of both sexes were similar at crowd scenes, in the presence of suspects and in the range of patrol incidents studied.

Table 4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF ACTIONS PERFORMED BY MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS

Type of Action	Type of Action as Percentage of All Actions, by Sex of Subject Officer	
	Female	Male
All Actions	100 (n=8775)	100 (n=9183)
Control Attempts	7	7
Actions Not Seeking Control	93	93
Positive Verbal Expressions	31	29
Police Routines	27	27
Physical Activities	22	24
Support-Seeking	12	12
Negative Verbal Expressions	<1	<1
Privileged Actions	<1	<1

[2]Interview data also suggest that the males performed more actions.

Only seven percent of the actions performed by subject officers of either sex were control attempts; these are discussed in the next section. Half of the actions by subject officers during encounters with civilians were either police routines (e.g., information gathering, directing traffic, transporting victims) or physical activities not associated with gaining control[3] (e.g., walking, running, climbing, shining a flashlight). Over 40 percent of the recorded actions were either positive verbal expressions (e.g., explaining, complimenting, expressing thanks or sympathy), or support-seeking (requests for assistance from partners, other patrol officers, or superiors). Both negative verbal expressions (insults, complaints, and sarcastic comments) and privileged actions (activities that would be illegal if they were performed by civilians, such as parking illegally, taking property, or entering premises by force) were rare, together accounting for less than one percent of subject officers' actions.

Even when the broad categories of behavior, compared in Table 4, are broken down further, few behavioral differences between the sexes emerge. The women were neither more nor less likely than the men to perform unrequested services for citizens, such as reconnecting a telephone or removing broken glass. (This finding conforms to the lack of difference in "service orientation" ratings of male and female subject officers entered on Departmental records by supervisory personnel.) Nor did the men and women differ in the way they behaved when a citizen was seriously injured, unconscious, or dead. Male subject officers were, however, more likely than the females to perform searches of premises or vehicles, while the females were more likely to do the paperwork involved in taking reports about past crimes and to offer comfort or sympathy to civilians.

Despite minimal differences between what male and female officers were observed to do on the job,

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[3]The observers also recorded physical behaviors which were non-active ("stands around; sits; sits in car"). These have not been included in Table 4. An exception is the "stands by" category, utilized in those cases where the officer was turned toward the action and appeared ready to react if needed. This was included in Table 4.

civilians of both sexes reacted more favorably to the women. Table 5 presents mean scores on a number of opinion items asked of civilians who had contact with a subject officer, male or female, during patrol incidents; 5 is the most favorable score and 1 the least favorable. The civilians interviewed were evenly divided between males and females.

Table 5

CITIZENS' REACTIONS TO MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS WITH WHOM THEY HAD CONTACT

Item	Mean Score,[a] by Sex of Subject Officer: Female	(n)	Male	(n)
*What is general reaction?	4.3	(32)	3.6	(30)
*How does officer reflect on NYPD?	4.4	(32)	3.5	(25)
*How pleasant was contact?	4.4	(30)	3.8	(29)
*Did officer do enough	4.4	(30)	3.8	(29)
*How competent was officer?	4.4	(32)	3.8	(26)
*How respectful was officer?	4.6	(30)	3.9	(25)
*How well did officer listen and understand?	4.5	(29)	3.7	(26)
How well did officer explain things?	4.3	(30)	3.8	(27)
Was officer emotionally supportive where needed?	4.1	(22)	3.4	(22)
How good was officer's self-control?	4.4	(15)	3.6	(10)
Did citizen approve of officer's controls?	4.4	(8)	3.4	(7)
How successful were officer's controls?	4.4	(8)	3.2	(6)
How wise were choices made by officer?	4.2	(10)	2.7	(7)
*Would citizen want officer to respond again?	4.3	(27)	3.3	(22)
*What is attitude toward NYPD?	4.1	(26)	3.1	(23)

*Starred items show statistically significant differences between male and female subject officers.

NOTE: [a]Possible ratings ranged from 5 (very positive) to 1 (very negative); 3 is neutral. There were fewer responses to some of the items because there was no basis for the citizen to make a judgment from the incident.

The data show that most of the civilians who were interviewed had positive feelings toward subject officers of both sexes, a finding explained in part by the fact that none had been a criminal suspect in the incident covered by the interviews.[4] Reactions toward female officers were more favorable than those toward males on every item, and the differences are statistically significant on several, including the officer's competence, respectfulness, and ability to listen. These positive feelings apparently carried over to evaluations of the Police Department as a whole: civilians who had contact with the female officers reported attitudes toward the NYPD that were significantly more favorable than the attitudes of those who had had contact with the male officers.[5]

It is difficult to know whether the more favorable ratings given to the female officers arose from the minor sex-related differences in "style" of patrol (e.g., the greater frequency with which the female officers offered comfort or sympathy to civilians). Data presented in the next two sections indicate that the women were somewhat less likely than the men to seek control in incidents; it is possible that the civilians liked them better because they intruded less.

Gaining and Keeping Control

Exercising control over civilians, especially those who are violent or potentially violent, is one of the important functions that patrol officers

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[4]The encounters about which civilians were interviewed were not fully representative of the variety of incidents in which officers engaged. In over one third of the incidents about which civilians were interviewed, the officers had taken reports about past crimes; another 21 percent of these incidents had involved ambulance cases and accidents. Complainants in "disputes" or "criminal mischief" (petty vandalism) incidents accounted for 13 percent and 11 percent of the interviews. The remaining cases were classified as "other."

[5]Civilians interviewed for the Washington, D.C., study were found to be equally satisfied with the male and female officers.

perform. Important though control-seeking may be, it is not frequently required. Observers did not record any control-seeking behavior in three quarters of the incidents they witnessed, and only eight percent of the incidents involved more than two control attempts. On the typical eight-hour tour, only two or three control attempts were observed.

The data on control-seeking by subject officers address five issues: How was control sought? How successful were the officers' control attempts? Who sought control? How did civilians react to the officers' control-seeking? And, how good were the officers at self-control?

1. How Was Control Sought?

Table 6 details all observed control attempts made by subject officers acting alone. Just as differences between the men and the women in overall "style" of patrol were seen to be minimal (Table 4), there appeared virtually no differences in frequency of use of the various control techniques.

Table 6

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF OBSERVATIONS OF SUBJECT OFFICERS' CONTROL ATTEMPTS BY TECHNIQUE OF CONTROL

Technique of Control	Technique of Control as Percentage of all Controls, by Sex of Subject Officer	
	Female	Male
All Observations of Subject Officer Control Attempts	100 (n=1094)	100 (n=1014)
Verbal Techniques	78	76
Ordering	27	29
Requesting	19	20
Recommending	22	19
Reasoning	6	4
Verbal Manipulating	3	2
Threatening	1	2
Non-Verbal Techniques	22	24
Official Acts	7	9
Use of Body Without Touch	3	4
Physical Contact	11	10
Gentle	2	3
Rough	9	7
Display of Weapon	1	1
Use of Weapon	<1	<1

NOTE: All observations of subject officer control attempts are counted and distributed in this table. Thus, a single control attempt will appear twice here if both the civilian and the police observer reported it. The table excludes 386 observations of control attempts performed jointly by a subject officer and his or her partner.

Over three-quarters of the control attempts by officers of both sexes were verbal in nature; of these, ordering was most often used. Eight percent of all control attempts (or about a third of the non-verbal control attempts) were "official acts," physical control techniques only police are legally empowered to use. These include frisking, searching, and making an arrest or issuing a summons. In four percent of the control attempts, the subject officer used his body without touching the civilian -- standing above the civilian, confronting him eye-to-eye, or beckoning. About one in ten control attempts involved informal physical contact, most of which were fairly rough (e.g., pushing, pulling, grasping, holding, slapping, punching, and pinning to the ground). Only one percent of the control attempts entailed display of a weapon.[6] Use of weapons was even more rare; the few instances generally involved striking with a nightstick, and observers did not see a gun fired. Female subject officers were observed to be as likely as the men to choose physical techniques when attempting to control, and there was no evidence to support predictions that female patrol officers would be more likely than men to resort to use of a weapon.

The type and sequence of the subject officers' control attempts were analyzed for each incident in which more than one control attempt was made by an officer. Most such sequences were composed solely of verbal control attempts. About a quarter, by both sexes, combined verbal and non-verbal techniques. The women, however, were more likely to use entirely verbal sequences (69% of control sequences) than were the men (62%). These data were also analyzed to identify any patterns in the development of sequential control-seeking. Some officers had characteristic sequences of control-seeking (starting with a low-key approach and getting tougher, or vice versa). But the progression of control techniques could not be distinguished when the sequential control-seeking behavior of the men and women, as groups, were compared for similar types of incident.

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[6]NYPD officers are armed with a .38-caliber revolver and a nightstick; they also carry handcuffs.

2. How Successful Were the Attempts at Control?

For the purpose of generating success rates of the various techniques of control-seeking, 9 percent of observed control attempts were excluded because the observers were unable to identify an immediate objective which, if achieved, would have marked success.[7] Of the remaining 1915 observations, 78 percent rated the attempt successful, 14 percent partially unsuccessful, and 8 percent not successful. The rates of success displayed in Table 7 do not count partial success as success. Elements of ambiguity remain in the data, however, for although observers could be expected to identify the immediate objectives of most control attempts, they were not asked to make judgments about officers' expectations. Thus, an officer's request for a motorist's registration was rated successful if the registration was produced -- even if the officer who made the request doubted that it would be met and expected that its refusal would be followed by an order to pull over to the curb for an investigation of whether the car had been stolen. Similarly, an officer who expects that an order or even physical contact will be necessary to accomplish the objective may first attempt control by recommending, reasoning or requesting. Nevertheless, it is possible to present, in Table 7, a rough ranking of control-seeking techniques in order of their general effectiveness. Table 7 also indicates that, while differences are small and generally not statistically significant, the women were observed to have achieved the objective of their control-seeking (as identified by the observer) at a lower rate than did the men with each technique except gentle physical contact.

It is not surprising that official acts of control -- handcuffing, making an arrest, and the like -- were observed to be fully successful more frequently than any other control technique, regardless of the sex of the officer. Use of the body without touch

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[7]For example, observers could not assess the success or failure of a recommendation to take action in the future (e.g., "You shouldn't stay here tonight," or "You should get a court order so this doesn't happen again.").

Table 7

SUCCESS OF SUBJECT OFFICERS' CONTROL ATTEMPTS BY TECHNIQUE OF CONTROL

Technique of Control	ALL SUBJECT OFFICERS % Rate of Success	(n=Number of Attempts observed)	FEMALE % rate of Success	(n)	MALE % rate of Success	(n)
Official Acts	96	(165)	94	(78)	99	(87)
Use of Body Without Touch	88	(67)	86	(28)	90	(39)
Ordering	76	(581)	74	(284)	78	(297)
Requesting	76	(409)	73	(209)	78	(200)
Rough Physical Contact	75	(163)	72	(99)	81	(64)
Gentle Physical Contact	74	(46)	78	(18)	72	(28)
Recommending	71	(293)	69	(154)	73	(139)
Display of Weapon	64	(25)	59	(12)	69	(13)
*Reasoning	52	(96)	39	(61)	74	(35)
Verbal Manipulating	49	(49)	44	(32)	59	(17)
*Threatening	48	(21)	13	(8)	69	(13)

*Starred items showed statistically significant differences between male and female subject officers.

NOTE: Data base built as in Table 6 (see Note thereto). Excluded from Table 7, however, are those 9 percent of control attempt observations for which the observer was unable to identify the officer's immediate control objective. For all techniques of control, except recommending and threatening, observers were able to make such judgments in over 95 percent of the cases.

also proved effective. Other physical control attempts, whether rough or gentle (leading, prodding lightly), were successful about three-quarters of the time.

Requests and orders together accounted for about 60 percent of the verbal control attempts; for both men and women they were judged effective about 75 percent of the time. Making recommendations, too, was a frequent and relatively successful control technique. Other verbal techniques -- threatening, reasoning, and "verbal manipulation" (i.e., shaming, flattering, or offering inducements) -- were less frequently used, and proved generally less effective. The women were significantly less successful than men in achieving their control objectives by threat or reason; but these techniques accounted for only seven percent of their control attempts.

There is a suggestion in Table 7 that success with at least some control-seeking techniques may be associated with sparing use. For example, although the women seem to have been more successful with the use of gentle physical contact, they were less likely to employ that device than were the men. Similarly, the male officers' greater success in achieving control objectives by reasoning with civilians is matched by their less frequent employment of that control technique.

Although the full meaning of data in Table 7 is not clear, it is important to note that the rate at which officers realize their immediate objectives with a particular technique is not a full measure of the utility of that device. Reasoning may be a less certain means of gaining control than handcuffing, but the types of incident observed in this report suggest that reasoning is more often appropriate in most police-civilian encounters. And a series of "unsuccessful" attempts at control by incrementally more intrusive devices may be more appropriate patrol behavior than leaping directly to physical contact from, say, a failure at recommending. The New York City Police Department would not necessarily have better police patrol if each officer were encouraged to avoid any unsuccessful control-seeking, and Table 7 should not be read as a series of tests in which 100 is the best score.

In this part of the research design, concerning the relative effectiveness of control attempts by the male and female officers, there was inevitably some room for subjective judgments in recording the data. And, indeed, observer biases seem to have emerged. Male observers, both police and civilians, rated male subject officers as significantly more successful than their female counterparts in achieving their control objectives, while female observers judged officers of both sexes to be about equally successful. These biases are highlighted in Table 8.

Table 8

ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES OF CONTROL ATTEMPTS OF MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS, BY OBSERVER STATUS AND SEX

Observer Status and Sex	Percent of Time Control Objective Judged Achieved, by Sex of Subject Officer	
	Female	Male
Police		
*Male Observers	70 (n=302)	85 (n=285)
Female Observers	80 (n=150)	80 (n=137)
Civilians		
*Male Observers	70 (n=310)	80 (n=272)
Female Observers	69 (n=219)	71 (n=240)

*Starred items show statistically significant differences between male and female subject officers.

NOTE: Data base built as in Table 7 (see Note thereto).

Such sex-related differences in observers' data are troubling. Yet, since observers were chosen after a screening designed to eliminate applicants who had evident biases, pro or con, about the relative ability of women to perform patrol duties, the data collected by them are the best available and will be used.

Despite difficulties of interpretation arising from (a) evidence of sex-related inconsistency in observers' assessments of success, (b) lack of data about officers' expectations of success for any given control attempt, and (c) lack of accepted norms by which to judge whether a particular control technique is appropriate in a given situation, the data in Table 8 do suggest that women were slightly less successful than the men in achieving the immediate objectives of their control-seeking behavior. This may, however, mean only that the women were using male-tailored techniques and strategies, rather than choosing approaches to particular situations most likely to achieve their control objectives. These observations have implications for training, supervision and deployment, which are taken up in the last chapter.

3. Who Sought Control?

Male subject officers participated in 75 percent of the control attempts made during their observed tours of duty, while the women participated in 68 percent of observed control attempts on their tours. But this difference is accounted for by an apparent reluctance of the women to join their partners in concerted control-seeking. Whether male or female, the subject officers were solely responsible for 55 percent of control attempts by their patrol teams.[8] The difference then may reflect the women's tendency to yield to male officers with whom they were partnered for patrol in more than 95 percent of observed tours, as well as acceptance of that passivity by most of those

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[8]That subject officers were seen to be solely responsible for more than half of the observed control attempts may have resulted from observer training, which focused attention on subject officers. Or, subject officers may have been more apt to engage in control-seeking on observed tours of duty because they realized that they were being studied and wanted to make a good showing. On the other hand, it is possible that the usually more experienced partners were led by their greater experience to be less anxious to seek control.

males. Yielding by female subject officers is discussed at greater length in the next section.

Interviews with officers of both sexes support the notion that skepticism on the part of some male officers about the patrol capacities of their female colleagues partially explains the reluctance of the women to engage in join control attempts. One female officer complained, "What am I supposed to do? When we respond to a job, my partner tells me to stand back and not get in his way because this is his sector and I don't know it anyway." That her ambivalence and discouragement are not rooted wholly in her imagination is evidenced by the following comment from a male peer: "The girls are OK on the service jobs, but when something heavy happens, I want her out of the way. Otherwise, I just have another person to worry about."

The women did not, however, display an indiscriminate passivity. In the handful of incidents judged by observers to present danger, male and female subject officers were equally likely to engage (solely or jointly) in efforts to gain control.

4. How Did Civilians React to the Officers' Control-Seeking?

The majority of civilians were calm and remained calm throughout the encounters, whether or not the incidents involved control attempts.

Observers judged that 84 percent of the civilians with whom officers came in contact were in a normal emotional state, 15 percent were in a "heightened" emotional condition, and fewer than one percent were "out of control."[9] As might be expected, civilians who were the objects of control attempts were more likely than others to be agitated; still, over half were rated as normal at the conclusion of the incident.

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[9]Emotional state was judged to be "heightened" when there was evidence of emotional arousal, such as loud or rapid speech or exaggerated gesturing. A person was judged "out of control" if he ranted or moved in an extreme fashion.

In 18 percent of all incidents involving control attempts, a change was observed, during the course of the encounter, in the emotional condition of a civilian. The effect of intervention was generally a soothing one: in 83 percent of these incidents, the civilian was rated as calmer at the conclusion, while in only 17 percent was the civilian perceived to be more agitated. Male and female subject officers performed similarly in this regard; unlike some other research (i.e., the Urban Institute's 1972 study in New York City, see page 8 above), this study does not support the proposition that female officers are more likely than male officers to be a calming influence on distraught civilians.

Observers reported that, in general, civilians had similar reactions to the control efforts of male and female officers. Civilians usually responded to control attempts with verbal expressions, either positive (listening and explaining) or negative (complaining or arguing). On just 30 occasions during the 580 incidents involving control attempts, civilians pushed, grabbed, or struck the officer or reached for a weapon, thereby provoking officers' control attempts. These acts were directed equally at male and female officers, and officers of both sexes reacted with rough physical contact, orders, or use of the body without touch.

5. How Good Were the Officers at Self-Control?

The emotional state of subject officers was rated as "heightened" only nine times by police and eleven times by civilians in over 3600 hours of observation. The numbers are too small for statistical analysis, but there was no obvious difference between the sexes.

There were only six incidents in which civilians had repulsive body conditions (such as persons who have been dead for several days) or gory injuries (such as severed limbs). In these few cases, female subject officers were as likely as men to examine the victim and to stay on the scene.

Police observers judged danger to be present in only ten situations they witnessed; civilians saw 22 encounters as dangerous. In all these incidents, the women behaved similarly to the men, and did not panic or hang back from the action.

Activity Level

We have seen that male and female subject officers adopted substantially similar "styles" of patrol, although the female officers' pattern was composed of fewer actions overall. The data revealed a similar phenomenon when control-seeking behavior alone was considered: the pattern of chosen control-seeking techniques was remarkably similar for the male and female officers, although the women participated in control-seeking less often than the men.

This subsection looks directly at officers' incidence of activity. The data indicate that, during the study period, the NYPD deployed male and female subject officers to do different jobs, more frequently assigning the women to such relatively passive duties as clerical work and guarding prisoners.[10] They also suggest that a tendency to yield to male officers -- a lack of assertiveness perhaps encouraged by the males -- partially explains the somewhat lower incidence of activity of the female officers.

1. Differential Deployment

As Table 9 shows, during the seven-month study period male subject officers spent more time on radio motor patrol than did their female counterparts.

While the men and women spent approximately equal numbers of hours on foot patrol or on special assignments within the precinct (at hospitals, picket lines, construction sites, or the like), there were significant differences in time spent on clerical and guard duties. These duties -- traditionally female

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[10]See note on page 5.

Table 9

DEPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS

Type of Duty	Mean Hours of Duty, by Sex of Subject Officer: Female	Male
All types*	806	791
Patrol*	513	643
RMP patrol*	332	439
Foot patrol	181	204
Clerical*	69	33
Guarding*	145	15
In-precinct*	78	12
Out-of-precinct*	67	3
Special Assignment	79	100
In-precinct	68	79
Out-of-precinct*	11	21

*Starred items show statistically significant differences between male and female subject officers

assignments -- accounted for most of the time that women spent off patrol. Although precinct personnel were asked to assign women who were not subject officers to matron duty during project observations, female subject officers were sometimes called away from observed tours of patrol for this purpose. In one precinct with a high volume of prostitution arrests, female subject officers were routinely assigned to guard prisoners and it proved difficult for supervisors to assign them to radio motor patrol except when observations were scheduled for this study.

When on radio motor patrol, however, the female subject officers and their partners were dispatched to the same kinds of patrol incidents as were the men and their partners.[11] A patrol car is generally assigned to patrol a geographic sub-area of the precinct (called a "sector") and to respond to all calls within it. In addition, the dispatcher from time to time assigns a car to leave its sector in order to respond to waiting calls in other sectors. Apparently, there were no efforts to shield the women by dispatching cars in which they were riding to easier jobs or to jobs which they might be expected to do especially well (e.g., family disputes). Radio cars carrying female subject officers were no less often assigned to high-activity sectors of their precincts than were the cars carrying male subject officers.

2. Passivity and Initiative

This study dealt with the issues of passivity and initiative in two ways: (a) by observing the subject officers' relationship with their partners, and (b) by examining the number and quality of arrests which were credited to subject officers or their partners.

a. Relationship With Partner. As relatively recent arrivals in their precincts, both male and female subject officers rode with more experienced partners

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[11] A comparison with all dispatches through the city in September 1976 indicates that subject officers received a typical range of radio dispatches during observed tours.

-- almost always males -- on 80 percent of the observed patrol tours. To provide a rough measure of officer initiative, observers recorded whether it was the subject officer or the partner who first spoke or acted to involve the team in incidents which were not initiated by radio dispatch, by supervisors' assignment or by civilian request. Termed "back-ups" when the team went to the aid of another patrol car or "pick-ups" when the team stopped to investigate a street situation, these events could be initiated verbally (e.g., by commenting on a condition on the street) or non-verbally (e.g., by turning the wheel of the car toward such a street condition or toward the site of an incident in another sector).[12] The number of back-ups and pick-ups, roughly one-fifth of all observed incidents, did not differ significantly with the sex of the subject officer, but Table 10 shows differences in the way these incidents began.[13] Female subject officers were as likely as their male counterparts to take the initial action in "back-ups" and "pick-ups" by themselves. However, the partners of female subject officers took initial action alone twice as frequently as partners of male subject officers. Female subject officers were therefore observed to be involved in initiating action less often, overall,

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[12]The decision to back up another patrol car often appeared to be an expression of solidarity, or perhaps an effort to relieve monotony, rather than a response to necessity. In 56 percent of the incidents where subject officers and their partners provided unrequested back-up to other patrol teams the dispatch call turned out to be based on an unfounded report, or the need for patrol officers' response had otherwise dissipated by the time of their arrival on the scene. (See page 24 above.) In another 12 percent of these cases, subject officers found other police handling the situation when they arrived on the scene. Events in which other officers really did need assistance and incidents that turned out to be crimes in progress or to involve gunshots or armed persons accounted for only two percent of all back-ups.

[13]The pattern of responsibility for initiating back-ups was similar to that for initiating pick-ups, and the data have been combined in Table 10.

Table 10

RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIATING OBSERVED INCIDENTS BY SEX OF SUBJECT OFFICER

	Percentage Initiated By Each Individual or Team	
	Teams With Female Subject Officers	Teams With Male Subject Officers
All initiations	100 (n=223)	100 (n=235)
Subject Officer Alone Takes Initial Action	18	20
Partner Alone Takes Initial Action	40	20
Initial Action Taken by Subject Officer and Partner Simultaneously	42	60

Note: The overall difference between sexes is statistically significant.

than were the male subject officers. The pattern resembles the pattern in the control-seeking data, where the greater frequency of control-seeking behavior by male subject officers was wholly accounted for by the relative infrequency with which female subject officers were observed to join partners in concerted control attempts (see pages 40-41).

It is necessary to view the measurement technique with a critical eye, for the apparent tendency of the women to be passive or to refrain from collaborative action with partners is not a hard measure of their "initiative." A hard measure is unattainable when officers patrol in pairs, as in New York, because what is observed is inextricably tied to the relationship of the partners. Although observers agreed at a high rate in identifying the first member of a patrol team to express a decision to back-up or pick-up, they may have been observing not the initiative of officers but the groundrules of behavior established informally or even unconsciously between officers patrolling together. When men and women are working in a joint endeavor in a traditionally male environment, the socially conditioned expectation is that men will take the lead and women will accept the men's lead.

The women, riding with partners more experienced than themselves -- and riding regularly with the same partner less often than the men -- may have held back, prepared to act or speak if their partners did not. The women lacked familiarity with the response patterns and decision-making styles of their partners and may have avoided asserting themselves out of anxiety about their partner's judgment.[14]

Another cause of the apparent disparity in initiative may be that the generally more experienced partners had the upper hand in shaping the groundrules and that they invited the male subject officers to share in the action while letting the women feel their participation was unnecessary or unwanted. Conversely, the women may have indicated to their partners that

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[14]Another possibility was that the female subject officers learned, from their experience on patrol, to expect contradition from their male partners. Although it is likely that subject officers' decisions to intervene were sometimes overriden by partner veto, no record was kept of such initiatives because they could not result in "incidents."

they expected or wanted them to guide the action. Differential deployment of the men and the women and elements of female passivity and male assertiveness found more generally in male-female relationships are reflected in the data on "initiative" displayed in Table 10.[15]

b. Arrests. The number of arrests a patrol officer makes and the number of summonses he issues are traditional performance indicators.

To control for the fact that, during the study period, the men were more frequently assigned to patrol than were the women, arrest and summons rates were calculated as ratios to the total number of hours on patrol. Table 11 presents the results.

Table 11

ARRESTS MADE AND SUMMONSES ISSUED BY MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS DURING SEVEN-MONTH PERIOD OF THIS STUDY

	Number of Actions per 100 Hours on Patrol Duty, by Sex of Subject Officers	
Type of Action	Female	Male
*Felony Arrest	.04	.16
Misdemeanor Arrest	.05	.13
*Moving Vehicle Summons	2.08	4.17
*Parking Summons	8.33	13.89

*Starred items show statistically significant differences between male and female subject officers.

[15]It at first seemed possible that, because the male subject officers were more frequently behind the wheel than the women, Table 10 merely reflected the ease with which drivers can indicate a decision to act by turning the wheel or accelerating the car. But the pattern of Table 10 remains even when this factor is held constant.

The men made more felony arrests and issued more moving vehicle and parking summonses than did the women;[16] arrests, however, were infrequent for both sexes. One female officer explained this evidence of disparity in activity as follows: "Of course men are going to work better. To get an arrest you need to know your sector and your partner, and because of matron duty we never have enough time to learn about either." Some male officers agreed, pointing out that taking and giving official credit for arrests is a subject of negotiation -- often quite complex negotiation -- between officers in a team or among the officers of several teams when more than one patrol car arrives on the scene. The women, as they were less frequently assigned to patrol with a steady partner than were the men, can be expected to have been at a disadvantage in such negotiations.

Although observers had not been asked to record the occurrence or terms of any negotiations of this sort, there is evidence in the data suggesting that, just as female subject officers were more likely than their male counterparts to let partners take the decision to back up other cars or to pick up street incidents, they were more likely to let partners take the credit for arrests made during their patrols. For example, female officers were four times more likely to be credited with assisting at an arrest than to be credited with making the arrest; for the male subject officers, the ratio of assists to arrests was two to one.

To compare the quality of arrests, 142 arrests made by subject officers during the study period were examined.[17] Thirty-five of these arrests were credited to the female subject officers; the remainder were

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[16]The Washington, D.C., study also found that the women made fewer felony and misdemeanor arrests and issued fewer moving traffic citations than the men.

[17]These are the ones for which written records were available, and represent over 95% of all arrests made by subject officers during the seven-month period.

credited to the male subject officers. About a third of each group were felony arrests. Only one arrest, a male officer's, failed to meet policy guidelines set by field supervisors; the arrest was for a minor drug sale in a precinct where supervisors had encouraged uniformed patrol officers to leave such offenses to a plainclothes squad, in order to keep the uniformed force on the streets rather than in court.

Few arrests were processed quickly enough for information on court dispositions to be reported here. Of six dispositions available on arrests made by female officers, three were dismissals and three were convictions by plea or trial. Known outcomes are similar for arrests made by the male officers: eight out of 20 were dismissed and the remaining 12 defendants were convicted.

Asked to evaluate the sample of arrests independently, and without knowing the sex of the arresting officer, two NYPD Captains discerned no differences between those arrests made by female officers and those made by males.

Special Skills

Much of the data reported above bears upon the skill of officers in performing tasks associated with patrol. The NYPD routinely gathers such data about certain special skills and these data are separately reported here.

1. Patrol Performance Ratings

The male and female subject officers received similar overall evaluations from their field supervisors. The men averaged 3.4 and the women averaged 3.3 on a five-point scale in which 5 indicated "well above standards." In two sub-areas, the men received higher marks: "quality of judgment" and "street knowledge." The women and men were rated equally on "human relations ability" and "service orientation."

During the study period, there were two civilian complaints filed against subject officers, one against a woman and the other against a man. The men received

a greater number of commendations (22 vs. 8), a disparity which cannot be fully explained by the fact that they spent more time on patrol, but might be partially explained by the fact that commendations are associated with arrests.

2. Firearms Competency and Use

NYPD records show that the scores of male subject officers during firearms training at the Police Academy and at their most recent firearms test were higher than those of the women.[18] However, in almost 120,000 hours that subject officers spent in various duties during the seven-month study, a gun was fired only twice, both times by the same male officer.

3. Driving

During the study period there were two automobile accidents. In one of these, a male subject officer was behind the wheel; in the other, a woman drove. Course instructors at the Police Academy told project staff that the women tended to be more cautious drivers at first and to take longer to complete the maneuvers in the standard Academy test; the women were, according to the instructors' memories, therefore trained for aggressive (emergency reaction) driving. No written records other than "pass-fail" grades were kept, however, and all subject officers passed the test before being allowed out on patrol.

Observers reported that the female subject officers took the wheel of the patrol car slightly less often (37% of the time) than did the male subject officers (43% of the time). One male officer explained the disparity this way: "It's a real pain if a female drives, because then she pulls the whole seat

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[18]Project staff had speculated that prior military experience of the men might account for their statistically superior performance in firearms testing. (Twenty-nine of the 41 male subject officers had served in the armed forces.) But there was no statistically significant difference on firearms scores, or, for that matter, on other performance indicators, between men who had military training and those who had none.

forward so she can reach the pedals, and I'm cramped up on my side."

The men were neither more nor less likely than the women to turn on the siren and exceed the speed limit.

Physical Capacities

A concern often voiced about assignment of female officers to patrol is that they would have insufficient physical stamina -- the ability to stand up to the stresses and strains that patrol duty can impose. This study addressed that concern in two ways: first, by evaluating performance in the limited number of observed incidents demanding strenuous physical activity, and second, by examining rates of absenteeism. Along both measures, the women did less well than the men.

1. Strenuous Physical Activity

Seven percent of all observed incidents -- one incident per 20 hours on observed patrol -- called for unusual physical exertion. Climbing ladders or long staircases and lifting people or heavy objects accounted for about three-quarters of the activities that were taxing of strength or endurance. Table 12 shows that the kind and frequency of strenuous activity confronting patrol teams did not differ with the sex of the subject officer in the team.

Table 12

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF STRENUOUS PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES IN INCIDENTS INVOLVING MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS

Type of Activity	Activity as Percentage of All Strenuous Activites by Sex of Subject Officer	
	Female	Male
All Strenuous Activities	100 (n=107)	100 (n=118)
Climbing Ladder or Staircase of More Than 3 Flights	48	47
Lifting a Person or an Object of over 50 Lbs.	28	27
Restraining Person	13	9
Carrying a Person, or an Object of over 50 Lbs.	7	12
Running	3	3
Other	1	2

Observer teams composed of male police officers and female civilians reported seeing almost twice as many instances of strenuous physical activity as did teams of female police and male civilians. Although observations by the latter suggest no disparity in subject officer response to these demands, the male police/female civilian observer teams' observations suggest a tendency on the part of the women to avoid strenuous exertion: they reported that female subject officers stood by or did something else 25 percent of the time when physical activity was called

for and that male subject officers hung back only 12 percent of the time.

The following incident is illustrative of those incidents in which male police/female civilian observer teams reported female subject officers leaving strenuous physical activities to their male partners:

> A female subject officer and her male partner were dispatched to the scene of an auto accicent. When they arrived they found that the disabled auto could not be rolled to the side of the road unless its mangled fender was forced away from the car's wheel. The male partner performed this activity unassisted; meanwhile, the subject officer took a report of the incident.

Whether these incidents reflect more than a conventional division of labor -- whether the women could, in fact, have performed such tasks if necessary -- cannot be resolved by this study.[19] Male and female subject officers were equally likely to participate in restraining violent civilians, where the effort of more than one officer is likely to be needed, and once such incidents were underway the women were as likely as men to stay with the incident to the end.

Civilians and other police personnel did not seem to expect the female officers to be less physically able than the men. In the handful of incidents during which civilians requested physical assistance from subject officers or offered to help them, male and female subject officers were about equally likely to be asked for or to be offered the help.

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[19]Scores from Police Academy physical training tests may be relevant. The differences between the male subject officers' mean score of 84 and the women's mean score of 80 was statistically significant, and the men particularly excelled at the one-mile run. Women were required to do neither chin-ups nor regular push-ups. (These data pertain only to the more recently appointed officers, since the "veteran" women received separate training). However, tests at the Police Academy do not necessarily indicate how officers will perform in the field.

Nor were partners of the female subject officers more likely to request physical assistance from other officers or civilians than were partners of the male subject officers.

In a few situations requiring physical strength from an officer, the women appeared to feel slightly less competent than the men: in three such incidents a female subject officer requested physical help but there were none where male subject officers did so. And while a female subject officer offered unrequested physical assistance to a civilian once, male subject officers did so seven times. (The small number of incidents precludes testing the statistical significance of these differences.)

2. Absenteeism

Before an officer who has been on sick report can return to active duty, he must consult the police surgeon's office. The ailments from which subject officers suffered during the study period, according to the records of that office, are shown in Table 13. Type of illness did not differ by sex; minor respiratory complaints were the major problem for both men and women through the autumn and winter months when the study was completed.

Although the illnesses that male and female subject officers contracted were similar, the women took over twice as many sick days as the men (an average of 12.8 vs. 4.8 per officer, respectively) and were out on sick report more often (1.7 vs. .9 times).

The Washington, D.C. study reports no significant differences in use of sick leave between men and women. The data in this study seem to conflict with those findings. But the data from both studies are limited to sick leave and do not examine other forms of leave available to NYPD officers. Data on use of these other provisions were not collected because their potential relevance was not perceived early on. Thus, this study does not determine whether total time off the job differed for male and female subject officers.

Table 13

INCIDENCE OF ILLNESS AMONG MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT OFFICERS BY TYPE OF ILLNESS

Type of Illness	Number of Diagnoses, by Sex of Subject Officer	
	Female	Male
Total	65	36
Minor respiratory	35	22
Minor gastrointestinal	7	3
Strains, hernias, back pain, swellings, lacerations, ingrown toenails	5	5
Major respiratory	0	1
Major gastrointestinal	3	0
Urological-genital-reproductive	2	0
Growths (no hospitalization)	2	1
Sprains, torn ligaments, breaks	3	1
Neuro-psychiatric	2	1
Conditions receiving surgery and other hospitalization	3	0
Other	3	2

Statistics on absenteeism among other police officers and among workers in other occupations were also examined. Sick-time records of 165 matched pairs of newly appointed male and female officers show that during the six-month period beginning in October 1973 female officers took slightly more sick time than males, though the difference was not statistically significant (1.3 days vs. .8 days, respectively).[20] Nationwide data also indicate that women have higher rates of unscheduled absence from work than do men: a 1972 study found 4 percent of female wage and salary workers in the 25-34 age group absent at least part of the study week, in contrast to 2 percent of their male counterparts.[21]

There is some evidence, then, that in general, women are absent from work more frequently than men; but the reasons for the disparity remain unclear. Women may be more prone to illness. They may stay sick longer. They may also be more apt to stay out of work when other family members become ill. Compounding these possible reasons in the context of the present study, was the low morale prevalent among female police officers during the study period. As noted below, women assigned to a precinct where morale was judged higher were absent half as often as female officers in general.

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[20]An NYPD analysis of absenteeism among male and female officers in 1973 revealed that 30 percent of the women and 17 percent of the men reported sick during that year. Both men and women appear to have been absent more often during the months covered by this study than during the earlier period analyzed by NYPD.

[21]Janice Niepert Hedges, "Absence from Work -- a Look at Some National Data," Monthly Labor Review, July 1973, p. 28. These data do not take account of the fact that women are more likely to be newly hired and to be employed in lower skilled, lower paid occupations -- two factors associated with relatively high absenteeism. Differences in absenteeism by sex decrease when the comparisons are made within occupation groups, but within these, too, men tend to hold the better paying jobs.

Part B. Findings About Women on Patrol in Atypical Situations

Since the work setting may be a critical determinant of productivity and other performance indicators, project staff analyzed three special data sets: incidents in which women were partnered by other women; incidents in which they had as partners officers of equal or less experience; and incidents involving female subject officers in a particular precinct where morale was judged exceptionally high and where women had been on patrol since 1972, longer than in any other precinct.

Women Partnered by Other Women

In 99 patrol encounters, female subject officers had other women as their partners. The behavior of the female officers in these situations differed in several respects from that of the female subject officers in general.

When female subject officers rode with other women they were more active than when they rode with men (performing an average of 8 actions per incident, in contrast to the 7 per incident when they rode with men). Indeed, the women were just as active, when patrolling with partners of the same sex, as were their male counterparts.

Moreover, the female subject officers were more likely to seek control when patrolling with other women. While 7 percent of all actions performed by the male and female officers were control attempts, 11 percent of the actions of female subject officers partnered by other women were control attempts, a statistically significant difference.

Finally, when the women had other women as partners, they were less likely to seek support from fellow officers or civilians. Nine percent of the actions of these female subject officers involved support-seeking, compared with 11 percent of the actions of all male and female subject officers taken together, a marginally statistical difference.

Thus, when women patrolled with other women, they were more assertive and self-sufficient than when they rode with men.[22]

But a significant disparity remained in the effectiveness with which women were judged to exercise control. *Despite their increased propensity to* engage in control-seeking behavior, the female subject officers who had other women as their partners were still rated less likely than the male subject officers to achieve their apparent control objectives.

Women Partnered by Men with Equal or Less Patrol Experience

Staff hypothesized that the pattern of yielding to partners, displayed by the female officers in general, might be attributable primarily to the fact that the male partners with whom they usually patrolled had more extensive experience on the beat. But the data refute this theory: the women behaved no differently in the 195 observed incidents when they were partnered by males of equal or less patrol experience. It appears, then, that the relatively less assertive behavior of female subject officers may be less a matter of yielding to experience than a reflection of traditional male-female role behavior.

Women in a High-Morale Precinct

Eight subject officers were stationed at the 77th Precinct, a high crime precinct in Brooklyn which has assigned female officers to patrol duty since 1972, when women were included in experimental Neighborhood Police Teams. Precinct supervisors there have been receptive to new ideas in policing, and their favorable attitudes toward women on patrol appear to have influenced both male and female officers under

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[22]Since only eleven incidents were officer-initiated (by subject officer, by partner or jointly) during these tours, no comparison can be made of the female subject officers' initiative when partnered by other women with the initiative of female subject officers when partnered by men.

their command. Informal interviews indicate that among female officers studied, women in this precinct exhibited the highest morale and the greatest job satisfaction.

The performance of female subject officers in the 77th Precinct was more similar to that of male subject officers than was the performance of female subject officers as a group. The arrest rate of the 77th Precinct women was twice that of the women in other precincts and they exceeded male subject officers' rates for issuing parking summonses. (The 77th Precinct male subject officers, however, still held a statistically significant edge in arrest rates over the female subject officers there).

Female subject officers in the 77th Precinct drove the radio car as often as did their male counterparts. Few incidents calling for strenuous activity were observed, but on these occasions the women were not observed (by any combination of observer personnel) to stand aside from the action more often than the men.

Both men and women in this precinct took less than half the number of sick days of subject officers in general, although the disparity between the sexes remained significant: 5 days for the women vs. 2 for the men. Similarly, while females in this precinct took more actions per incident than did female subject officers in general, they were less active than their male counterparts in the precinct: 8 actions per incident for the women vs. 9 for the men.

It would seem that deploying women with other women or otherwise insuring a receptive working environment helps to improve their performance on patrol. But there are other indications in this report that women could benefit from additional training in assertiveness and in exercising appropriately effective control. The following chapter sets forth some implications, drawn from the study findings, for the more effective use of women on patrol.

IV. CONCLUSION

The data collected for this study are specific to New York City where, unlike many jurisdictions, radio motor patrol is conducted by "2-man" cars. They are also specific to time -- a time (1975-76) when officer morale in the Department had suffered from layoffs as a result of the City's fiscal crisis. The results of this study offer little support either to those who hold that women are unsuited to patrol or to those who argue that women do the job better than men. By and large, patrol performance of the women was more like that of the men than it was different.

The study identified small but consistent differences between the performance of the men and women: the women were less apt to join partners in concerted control-seeking and joint decision-making; they were slightly less successful in achieving the immediate objectives of their control attempts; they were slightly less active in general; and they made fewer arrests and took more sick days. On the other hand, the women were better-received by the civilians they encountered and their performance seems to have created a better civilian regard for the Department. In a comparative exercise of this kind, it is inevitable that the performance of the controversial group (the women) will be compared against the performance of the group already in place (the men). But the study's performance measures carry various degrees of ambiguity and some caution is appropriate in using male performance as a standard or norm for good policing.[1]

Some differences that emerged can be attributed, at least in part, to the low morale of the female officers -- a product of the often discouraging reception in some precincts, the frequent interruption of their patrol assignment or their individual

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[1]For example, although the men were more likely than the women to participate in "back-up" decisions, in most observed occasions when officers backed up other teams their presence was not in fact required. (See page 46 of this report.)

patrol tours in order to guard female prisonser, and the lay-offs of 1975 which decimated the ranks of newly-appointed female police officers.

Notwithstanding these caveats and the appearance of sex-related bias in some of the observer data, the study adds to a growing body of evidence that justifies the assignment of women to patrol but reveals some differences in the performance of women and men. The differences in performance, and to some extent the similarities, suggest a number of steps a police department might take to improve the patrol performance of its female officers, and of its patrol force as a whole.

* * *

It is not surprising that, in this male-dominated field, female officers were sensitive to the attitudes of male personnel, both supervisory personnel in precinct stations and patrolmen in the radio cars. Socially-conditioned attitudes and behavior -- protectiveness or disdain by men, and passivity or yielding by women -- appear likely to restrict the development of female officers on patrol assignments. This suggests that there be:

1. Efforts, through initial and mid-career training, to sensitize supervisory precinct personnel about the needs and capabilities of patrol women, and about the utility of a more accepting attitude in patrol ranks toward assignment of female officers to patrol.

2. Training of male patrol officers, for example through role-play and film, to break down conventional and perhaps unconscious prejudice about the capabilities of women and to increase their acceptance of women as patrol partners.

The small but consistent differences between the patrol performance of female subject officers and their male counterparts largely disappeared when the women were assigned to patrol with other women. It appeared

that development of their potential as patrol officers was enhanced by being freed from the constraints of male-female role behavior and by having female role models. These findings suggest:

3. As female officers gain sufficient experience to be eligible for selection as Field Training Specialists,[2] seeking out and assigning to that role women who can bring out the best in newly-assigned female patrol officers and encourage a more accepting attitude on the part of their male patrol partners.

4. Partnering women who are newly-assigned to patrol with older, more experienced female patrol officers who can serve as role models, at least for an initial period.

Responsibility is shared by both sexes for the relative passivity and lack of assertiveness among female patrol officers. Female officers were more tentative in their approach and more uncertain of their abilities than were the men. The job satisfaction, patrol performance and control-seeking ability of women are likely to be enhanced by:

5. Assertiveness training -- similar to efforts to improve the performance of women in executive ranks of government agencies -- to better enable female officers to develop their potential.

The control-seeking model used in this study to record patrol performance is itself a tool that might serve as an aid in training. Individual officers -- both male and female -- will differ with respect to their most effective control-seeking techniques. The

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[2]Field Training Specialists are officers, qualified by length of experience and high standards of performance, who are selected to help new officers make an effective transition to precinct assignment following graduation from the Police Academy.

most "appropriately" effective technique for one officer in a given situation might be a direct order, while another officer's characteristics (e.g., bearing, height, sex, race) might make a recommendation or a gesture more effective in the same circumstance than a direct order. In some situations the need for gaining or keeping control may be so great that the only appropriate technique is the one most certain of success, but in other situations the failure of a mild technique may be compatible with good policing, and the attempt with a less intrusive technique may improve attitudes of civilians toward the police in general. Similarly, the control-seeking model could be applied to identify patrol techniques that tend to lead to heightened tensions or to violence in patrol encounters; the lessons of such an analysis might be incorporated into training efforts. The performance of male as well as female officers might therefore benefit from:

6. Training that encourages all officers to develop a style of patrol that best fits their individual strengths and weaknesses and that assists them to identify the most appropriate control-seeking devices in a patrol encounter.

Finally, as this study raises as many questions as it answers about patrol and about officers' performance on patrol, it should perhaps be viewed as an additional chapter, rather than as a final report, in the ongoing study of patrol performance.

APPENDIX

OBSERVATION MATERIALS

Three separate structured observation forms were developed for use in this research: a main incident form, a control form, and a physical activity form. They were designed to be filled out during tours of observation, rather than at a later time.

An attempt was made to eliminate subjectivity of observer responses on these forms were possible. Therefore, almost all items except those labelled "Post-Incident Reactions" called for an objective description of the situation or behavior being observed. (For example a participant's emotional state was coded as "heightened" only when there was physical evidence such as a reddened face, loud speech, or extreme gestures.) Observers were instructed as to the precise meaning of each response choice (as defined by research staff) and when each was to be used. Observers practiced using the forms with documentary films which simulated patrol and with actual training tours on patrol. The observers were tested for mastery of the forms using a different film from those used for training to ensure that they understood the response choices and were consistent with each other in their use.

The Main Incident Form (pp. 69, 70) was completed for any encounter between a police officer or team and at least one civilian, provided the encounter involved more extensive interaction than exchanging greetings or asking and giving directions.

The Main Incident Form is composed mainly of multiple choice items for which the observer entered the correct choice in the coding boxes. For example, the third item in bold type ("Time of incident") calls for the approximate military time of the encounter to be selected from among the choices. If the incident occurred at 3 P.M., the numeral "4" would have been recorded in box 30. Items which pertained only to special circumstances, such as those at the bottom of the first page concerning crowds, were not used unless they applied to the incident.

On the main form as well as the others, number of officers or citizens was always recorded as an actual number, up to 20 which was defined to constitute a crowd.

In contrast to the main incident form which was always used, the other forms were used only when appropriate. The Control Form was used whenever an officer attempted to influence the behavior of a civilian party to the encounter. One such form was completed for each new control attempt, with the sequential numbers 01, 02, etc. placed in coding boxes 12 and 13. Thus a main incident form could be associated with none or any number of control forms. (The greatest number of control attempts observed in any one incident was 28).

The Physical Activity Form was used whenever strenuous physical activity occurred during an incident with a civilian. A new form was completed for each new phase of strenuous physical activity engaged in by a party to the incident.

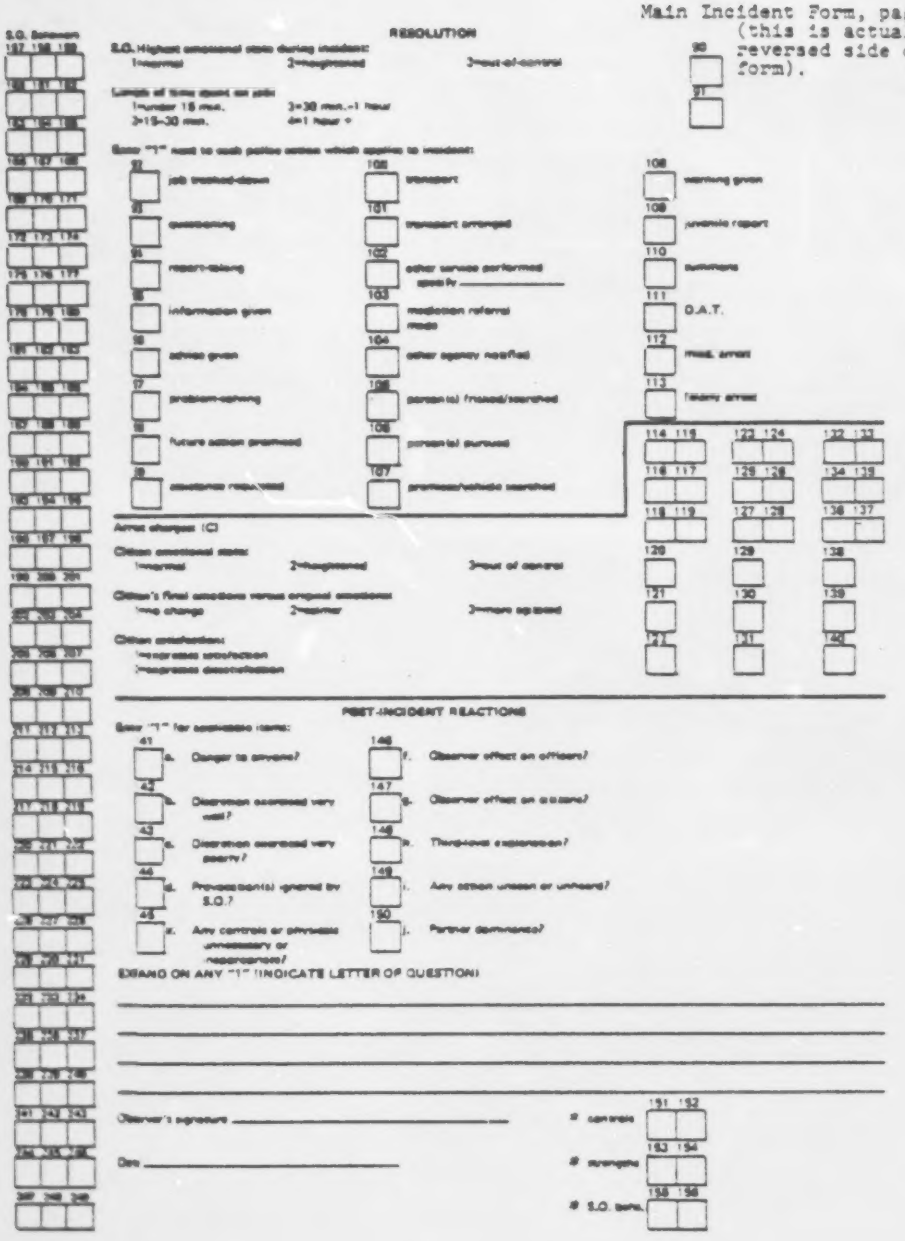
The forms were used in conjunction with lists of Incident Codes, Behavior Codes, and Arrest Codes. These code lists were necessary because certain items had more codes than could be listed directly on the forms. The list of Incident Codes provides numerical identifiers for various types of police-citizen encounters. It is based on official New York City Police incident codes, but adds several new codes to describe the incident type in greater detail. The codes are used to identify the radio call signal received as well as the actual type of incident it turned out to be (the second and sixth bold-type items on the Main Incident Form).

Behavior Codes were used to describe subject officer (S.O.) behaviors (the entire left-hand column on the second page of the main form and the second line of the control form). They were also used to describe behaviors of other officers and citizens (crowd items on the main form, and the second and fourth sections of the control form). The most common behavior codes (001-004; 101-110; 435-443) were memorized by the observers.

The list of Arrest Codes was used to categorize arrest type (for the item on arrest charges in the middle of the second page of the main form).

Main Incident Form, page 1.

Main Incident Form, page 2
(this is actually
reversed side of
form).



S.O. Code 1 2 3 | 4 | Sequence 5 6 | Incident 7 8 | Observer 9 10 11 | Control Attempt 12 13

Type of control-seeking behavior(s): (B) 14 15 16 | 17 18 19

Controller:
1=S.O. 3=S.O. & other officer(s) 6=ptnr. & other officer(s) 20
2=S.O. & Ptnr. 4=S.O., ptnr. & other officer(s) 7=other officer(s)
5=partner 8=superior officer(s)

Controllee: 21 22 | 30 31 | 39 40
01=victim 05=officers of subject 09=S.O.
02=complainant 06=citizen/official capacity 10=partner
03=officers of v/s 07=bystander(s) 11=other officer
04=suspect 08=crowd 12=superior officer

Column(s) where controllee data appear on main sheet: 23 | 32 | 41
1=#1 2=#2 3=#3

Controllee behavior(s) which immediately precede control attempt: (B) 24 25 26 | 33 34 35 | 42 43 44
27 28 29 | 36 37 38 | 45 46 47

Number of additional officers present: 48 49

Presence of additional officers requested: 50
1=by S.O. 2=by partner 3=joint request 4=not requested

Number of citizens/bystanders present: 51 52

Setting: 53 54
01=residential interior 06=addiction facility 11=street/alley 16=water
02=residential exterior 07=hospital 12=park/play/cem/hwy/rr/lot 17=subway
03=business-open 08=other building
04=restaurant/bar 09=closed establishment 13=patrol car
05=after-hours club 10=unsafe building 14=station house
15=central booking

Objective of control attempt: 55
1=performance of speech/act by person(s) 4=pursuit/retrieval of person(s)/object(s)
2=halting/prevention of speech/act by person(s) 5=confinement of person(s)/object(s)
3=investigation of person(s)/object(s)/premises(s) 6=imposition of legal sanction

Accomplished? 1=fully 2=partially 3=no 56

Controllee compliance with request/order: 1=yes 2=partially 3=no 57 | 65 | 73

Other controllee reactions to control attempt: (B) 58 59 60 | 66 67 68 | 74 75 76
61 62 63 | 69 70 71 | 77 78 79

Controllee emotional state: 1=normal 2=heightened 3=out of control 64 | 72 | 80

Controller emotional state: 1=normal 2=heightened 3=out of control 81

Injury to: (first digit) Seriousness: (second digit)
1=controllee by controller(s) 1=minor
2=controllee by other controllee(s) 2=major
3=controllee by other citizen(s) 82 83
4=controller by controllee(s) 84 85
5=controller by other citizen(s)
6=bystander 86 87
7=other

Property damage associated with attempt: 88
1=minor
2=major

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY FORM

S.O. Code (1 2 3) (4) Sequence (5 6) Incident (7 8) Observer (9 10 11) Physical Activity (12 13)

Strenuous Physical Activity:
(first digit)
1=run
2=restrain
3=climb
4=jump
5=lift
6=carry
7=drag
8=throw

Distance:
(second digit)
1=blocks (1-)
2=blocks (1+)
3=flights (3-)
4=flights (3-6)
5=flights (6+)
6=height (3'+)
7=span (3'-)
8=span (3'+)

Object:
(third digit)
Person/animal
1=20-60 pounds
2=60-120 pounds
3=120+ pounds

Struggling person/animal
4=20-60 pounds
5=50-120 pounds
6=120+ pounds

Thing
7=50-120 pounds
8=120+ pounds

Means of lift/carry:
(fourth digit)
1=stretcher
2=chair /wheelchair
3=arms cradle
4=forearm(s)
5=hand(s)
6=shoulder/back
7=hip/side

(14 15 16 17)

900=push auto
901=change tire
902=force locked door/window
903=open/close hydrant
904=swim

Total number of officers participating: (18 19)

Total number of citizens participating: (20 21)

S.O. involvement during activity: (22 23 24)

Beginning: (first digit)
1=starts alone
2=starts with partner
3=starts with other officer(s)
4=starts with citizen(s)
5=starts w/officer(s) & citizen(s)
6=chooses different task
7=accepts different task
8=wards by

Middle: (second digit)
1=carries on
2=carries on with addtl officer(s)
3=carries on with addtl citizen(s)
4=stops-apparent inability
5=stops-apparent yielding
6=stops-initiates different task
7=stops-accepts different task
8=stops-unknown reason

Conclusion: (third digit)
1=carries through
2=carries through w/addtl officer(s)
3=carries through w/addtl citizen(s)
4=stops-apparent inability
5=stops-apparent yielding
6=stops-initiates different task
7=stops-accepts different task
8=stops-unknown reason

Requests for help: (25 26 27)

Initiated by: (first digit)
1=S.O.
2=partner
3=supervisor
4=other officer(s)
5=other pct. team(s)
6=citizen(s)/official capacity
7=other citizen(s)

To: (second digit)
1=S.O.
2=S.O. combo
3=partner
4=supervisor
5=other officer(s)
6=citizen(s)/official capacity
7=other citizen(s)

Response: (third digit)
1=complied with
2=ignored
3=ridiculed
4=refused

Offers of help: (34 35 36) (37 38 39) (40 41 42)

By: (first digit)
1=S.O.
2=partner
3=supervisor
4=other officer(s)
5=other pct. team(s)
6=citizen(s)
7=other citizen(s)

To: (second digit)
1=S.O.
2=S.O. combo
3=partner
4=supervisor
5=other officer(s)
6=citizen(s)/official capacity
7=other citizen(s)

Response: (third digit)
1=accepted
2=ignored
3=ridiculed
4=refused

Objective of physical activity: (43)
1=investigation/inspection of person(s)/object(s)/premise(s)
2=pursuit/retrieval of person(s)/object(s)
3=confinement of person(s)/object(s)
4=movement of person(s)/object(s)
5=imposition of legal sanction

Accomplished? (44) 1=fully 2=partially 3=no

Injury to (first digit): (45 46)
1=S.O.
2=partner
3=other officer
4=victim
5=suspect
6=other citizen

Seriousness: (second digit)
1=minor
2=major

Injuries caused by: (47 48) (51) (52) (53)
1=S.O.
2=S.O. combo
3=partner
4=partner combo
5=suspect
6=crowd
7=accident
8=other

Property damage associated with activity: (49 50) (54)
1=minor
2=major

SUPPLEMENT A
Incident Codes

01=job cancelled en route
02=apparently unfounded
03=bad address
04=gone on arrival
05=handled by other unit
06=unnecessary call

Possible Crimes
10=investigate
11=bank or hold-up alarm
12-pick-up case
13=assist police officer
14=occupied & suspicious vehicle
15=verify if vehicle is stolen
16=vehicle is reported stolen
17=vehicle is not reported stolen
18=organized crime vehicle
19=other possible crime

Crimes in the Past
20=robbery (past)
21=burglary (past)
22=larceny
23=report of explosive
24=assault (past)
25=follow-up to prior crime
29=other crime in past

Crimes in Progress
30=robbery in progress
31=burglary in progress
32=larceny in progress
33=report of explosive
34=assault in progress
39=other crime in progress

Rapid Mibilization
40=(Sgts. & Ptls.)

Non-Crime Incidents
45=shot fired
46=additional unit non-rush
47=additional unit rush
50=disorderly
51=roving band
52=noise or dispute
53=street accident
54=ambulance case
55=ambulance case (RMP not required)
56=ambulance may be needed
57=ambulance 2nd call - verify
58=assist ambulance
59=alarm of fire
60=precinct assignment (available)
61=precinct assignment (not available
62=out of service (reason)
63=out of service (meal)
64=entering premises Lic. by S.L.A.
65=utility trouble
66=unusual incident
67=traffic or parking condition
68=see complainant
69=other non-crime

Mobilization
70=(Lt., Sgt., Ptl., RMP's)

Other Incident Codes
71=peddling
72=squatter
73=vagrant
74=open hydrant
75=burglar alarm
76=drug use
77=drug sale
78=family dispute
79=moving vehicle stop
80=bike stop
81=prowler
82=criminal mischief
83=psycho
84=man with gun (weapon)
85=man down
86=lost/missing child/missing person
87=DOA
88=notification of DOA
89=notification
90=suicide attempt
91=hit & run
92=overdose case
93=dangerous animal
94=serves warrant
95=serves summons
96=follow-up to prior incident
97=transport prisoner
98=minor service request

SUPPLEMENT B

BEHAVIOR CODES

CONTROLLING

000=no behavior

001=orders
002=requests
003=recommends
004=reasons
005=makes deal
006=humors/flatters
007=shames

THREATENS
008=official action
009=physical force
010=use of weapon
011=unspecified

012=attempts to frisk
013=attemtps to search person
014=attempts to search premises
015=announces arrest
016=attempts to serve D.A.T.
017=attempts to serve summons
018=attempts to handcuff
019=attempts to place in car

020=chases on foot
021=chases in car

022=stands above
023=confronts eye-to-eye
024=positions body to block
025=orders by gesture
026=taps for attention
027=prods by light touch
028=leads
029=leads by hand

030=rushes toward
031=pounces on
032=pins to ground/wall
033=sits on
034=stands on

PUSHES
035=with hand
036=with foot
037=with body
038=with baton/gun

PULLS
039=by hand/arm
040=by clothing
041=by hair
042=by leg
043=by head
044=by other body part

GRABS
045=hand/arm
046=clothing
047=hair
048=leg
049=head
050=other body part
051=another person's weapon

HOLDS
052=hand/arm
053=clothing
054=hair
055=leg
056=head
057=other body part

058=slaps
059=punches
060=wrestles
061=kicks
062=knees
063=flips
064=hurls
065=hurls object at
066=douses
067=bites
068=shakes
069=twists arm

GRABS FOR
070=baton
071=gun
072=knife
073=other weapon

SHOWS
074=baton
075=gun
076=released gun
077=knife
078=other weapon

PREPARES TO USE
079=baton
080=gun as baton
081=gun
082=knife
083=other weapon

USES
084=baton
085=gun as baton
086=gun
087=knife
088=other weapon

090=fingerprints
091=places in cells
092=strip-searches

(B) Behavior Codes, continued.

VERBAL NON-CONTROLLING

QUESTIONS
101=re: events
102=re: background
103=re: justification
104=re. state of person

105=listens actively
106=listens

107=answers questions
108=explains
109=offers requested advice
110=offers services

111=asks for advice
112=asks for help
113=shouts for help

114=receives instrs from superior
115=confers with partner
116=confers with officers
117=confers with superiors
118=speaks in foreign language
119=uses interpreter

120=sympathizes
121=comforts
122=makes small talk
123=jokes
124=apologizes
125=thanks
126=wishes well/blesses
CITIZENS
127=citizen(s)
128=partner
129=S.O.
130=other officer(s)
131=other

132=refuses request/order
133=complains
134=taunts
135=scolds
136=moralizes
137=interrupts
138=mutters
139=uses scarcasm
AGGRESSIVE
140=citizen(s)
141=S.O.
142=partner
143=other officer(s)
144=police

REMARKS NEGATIVELY ON CITIZEN
201=presence
202=action
203=service need
204=person
205=sexuality
206=gender
207=race/ethnicity

REMARKS NEGATIVELY ON S.O.
208=presence
209=actions
210=authority
211=person
212=sexuality
213=gender
214=race/ethnicity

REMARKS NEGATIVELY ON PARTNER
215=presence
216=actions
217=authority
218=person
219=sexuality
220=gender
221=race/ethnicity

REMARKS NEGATIVELY ON POLICE
222=presence
223=actions
224=authority
225=person
226=sexuality
227=gender
228=race/ethnicity

INSULTS CITIZEN
229=presence
230=actions
231=service needed
232=person
233=sexuality
234=gender
235=race/ethnicity
236=with curse
237=with M.F.

INSULTS S.O.
238=presence
239=actions
240=authority
241=person
242=sexuality
243=gender
244=race/ethnicity
245=with curse
246=with M.F.

INSULTS PARTNER
247=presence
248=actions
249=authority
250=person
251=sexuality
252=gender
253=race/ethnicity
254=with curse
255=with M.F.

INSULTS POLICE
256=presence
257=actions
258=authority
259=person
260=sexuality
261=gender
262=race/ethnicity
263=with curse
264=with M.F.

COMPLIMENTS CITIZEN
265=presence
266=actions
267=service need
268=person
269=sexuality
270=gender
271=race/ethnicity

COMPLIMENTS S.O.
272=presence
273=actions
274=authority
275=person
276=sexuality
277=gender
278=race/ethnicity

COMPLIMENTS PARTNER
279=presence
280=actions
281=authority
282=person
283=sexuality
284=gender
285=race/ethnicity

COMPLIMENTS POLICE
286=presence
287=actions
288=authority
289=person
290=sexuality
291=gender
292=race/ethnicity

REMARKS POSITIVELY ON CITIZEN
293=presence
294=actions
295=service need
296=person
297=sexuality
298=gender
299=race/ethnicity

REMARKS POSITIVELY ON S.O.
301=presence
302=actions
303=authority
304=person
305=sexuality
306=gender
307=race/ethnicity

REMARKS POSITIVELY ON PARTNER
308=presence
309=actions
310=authority
311=person
312=sexuality
313=gender
314=race/ethnicity

REMARKS POSITIVELY ON POLICE
315=presence
316=actions
317=authority
318=person
319=sexuality
320=gender
321=race/ethnicity

(B) Behavior codes, continued.

PHYSICAL NON-CONTROLLING

PERFORMS
401=specific requested service
402=specific unrequested service
403=first aid
404=mechanical operation
405=examination of sick/acc. case
406=search of impersonal premises
407=report-taking
408=traffic direction
409=execution of warrant
410=conflict referral

CHECKS
411=entrance(s)
412=exit(s)
413=interior space
414=roof
415=stairs

PHONES FOR INFORMATION
416=other P.D.
417=other agency
418=precinct

PHONES FOR ASSIST BY
419=pct.-real assist
420=pct.-tech.assist
421=other P.D. unit
422=other agency

PHONES FOR TRANSPORTATION BY
424=pct.
425=other P.D. unit
426=other agency

TRANSPORTS
427=victim to hospital
428=relative to hospital
429=citizen(s) as service
430=citizen(s) for information
431=suspect to station

432=gestures affection
433=supports person physically
434=gives small gift

435=sits
436=sits in car

437=stands at ready
438=stands around

439=walks
440=walks toward (approaches)
441=walks away
442=walks in lead
443=walks behind

444=runs
445=runs away
446=runs in lead
447=runs behind
448=bumps into
449=slips out of grasp
450=slips

451=staggers
452=collapses

453=screams
454=cries
455=gesticulates
456=trembles

457=dances/jives
458=creats loud noise
459=plays game
460=rides bike

461=climbs
462=lifts
463=carries
464=drags
465=throws
466=swims

467=drives normal speed
468=drives high speed
469=drives away
470=drives away/accident

471=performs moving violation
472=parks illegally
473=enters auto by force

474=enters premises by force
475=snatches purse
476=takes property
477=gives up property
478=receives property
480=holds property
481=takes money
482=proffers money

483=possesses weapon
484=sets fire
485=vandalizes
486=shoots up/sniffs

487=peddles
488=demonstrates/pickets
489=gambles
490=smokes marijuana
491=imbibes
492=engages in sex
493=exhibits self
494=urinates/defecates
495=vomits

CROWD BEHAVIOR
501=mills/talks
502=pays attention
503=observes silently

504=catcalls
505=closes in
506=charges

507=moves back
508=disperses

ANIMAL BEHAVIORS
601=touches animal
602=hits animal
603=shoots animal
604=holds animal

701=lying on ground
702=struggling
703=supports under arms
704=places over shoulder
705=shouts
706=phones notification
707=kneels
708=performs work
709=shines light on
710=escape attempt (mechanical)
711=hides

SUPPLEMENT C

ARREST CODES

01=Abandoment
02=Arson
03=Assault/Peace Officer
04=Assault, 3rd Degree
05=Burglary
06=Criminal Facilitation (2nd, 1st degrees)
07=Criminal Mischief
08=Criminal Neglect Homicide
09=Criminal Possession of Stolen Property
10=Criminal Solicitation (3rd, 2nd, 1st degrees)
11=Criminal Trespass
12=Disorderly Conduct
13=Endangering the Welfare of a Child
14=Escape
15=Pelonious Assault
16-Forgery
17=Fraud
18=Fraud(Misd.)
19=Fraudulent Accosting
20=Gambling Offenses
21=Grand Larceny
22=Grand Larceny Auto
23=Harassment
24=Harassment/Peace Officer
25=Intoxicated Driver
26=Intoxicated Driver, Misd.
27=Impaired Driving
28=Issuing Abortional Material
29=Jostling
30=Kidnapping
31=Manslaughter
32=Menacing
33=Murder
34=Offenses against the Administrative Code
35=Offenses against Families and Children
36=Petit Larceny
37=Possession of Burglary Tools
38=Possession of Dangerous Drug (i.e., Intent to Sell, etc.)
39=Possession of Dangerous Drugs, Misd.
40=Possession of Dangerous Weapons
41=Possession of Hypodermic Instrument
42=Prostitution Offense
43=Public Lewness
44=Rape
45=Reckless Endangerment,
46=Reckless Endangerment, Misd.
47=Riot, Inciting
48=Robbery
49=Sexual Abuse
50=Sexual Abuse (Child)
51=Vehicle & Traffic Law, Misd. (i.e. Leaving the Scene, etc.)
52=Held for material witness
53=Held for protective custody

Observer Safety Guidelines

Certain procedural guidelines to enhance the safety of observers and police officers were developed and continuously reinforced in training and debriefing sessions.

1. Police observers shall have responsibility for the actions of the observers during the tour. The police observer should direct the civilian as to the appropriate course of action where the police observer judges: 1) clear and present danger to the observers; or 2) that the presence of observers at a particular "crime in progress" would endanger the lives or safety of any participant.

   The civilian observer should remain close to the police observer at all times. Once leaving the patrol car, DO NOT SEPARATE FOR ANY REASON.

   No debates over police observer decisions should be held during the tour of duty. Concerns should later be brought to the attention of project staff.

2. All observers shall obey the instructions of any superior officer(s) present at the scene of an incident.

3. All observers must wear their NYPD identification on outer garments at all times.

4. All observers should carry their arm bands with them on every tour for identification in crowd situations.

5. Observers shall take care to position themselves in such a way as not to hamper or impede any ongoing police operations. This includes providing as much space as possible, consistent with the observational goals, for the entrance and exiting of police personnel.

6. When necessary, observers shall seek cover in an area away from active police personnel. This cover can consist of: garbage cans (even mesh ones), near the wheels of autos, behind firepumps, light poles, etc.

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